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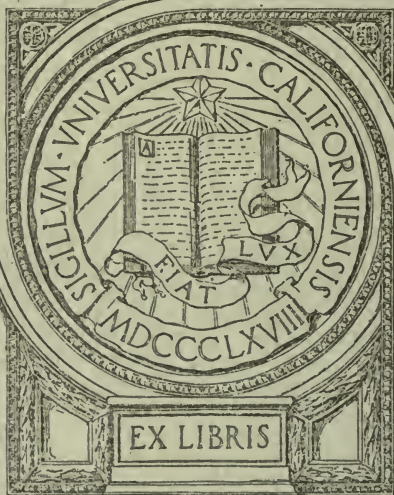


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THE TELL AMARNA TABLETS.



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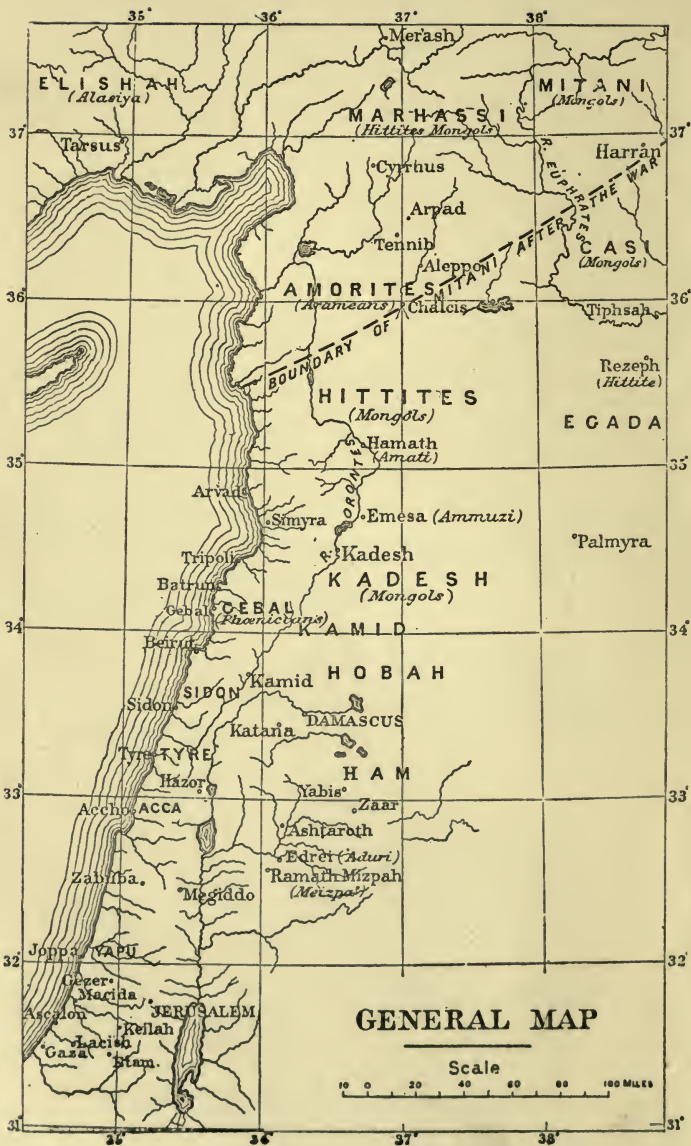
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THE
TELL AMARNA TABLETS

AFTER two years' study of the published texts of the tablets found at Tell Amarna, Major Conder has completed a translation of them, which the Committee of the Fund have undertaken to publish. In this, as in all their publications, the Committee beg it to be understood that the author alone is responsible for the opinions put forward.

JAMES GLAISHER,
Chairman Executive Committee.

January, 1893.



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TELL AMARNA TABLETS.

Translated

BY

C. R. CONDER, MAJOR R.E.,
D.C.L., LL.D., M.R.A.S.

SECOND EDITION,

WITH CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

PUBLISHED FOR THE
COMMITTEE OF THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

BY

A. P. WATT & SON, NORFOLK STREET, STRAND.

1894.

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*See Record of the
Vol II for Treatise on the
discovery & contents*

P R E F A C E .

THE Tell Amarna Tablets were discovered in 1887 by a peasant woman of Egypt, amid the ruins of the palace of Amenophis IV., midway between Thebes and Memphis, at the site of the ancient Antinoe, about 180 miles by river south of Cairo. Those tablets under present consideration date about 1480 B.C., and are written to the King of Egypt and to certain of his officials by Amorites, Phœnicians, Philistines and others.

The names of Japhia, King of Gezer; of Jabin, King of Hazor; and, probably, of Adonizedek, King of Jerusalem—contemporaries of Joshua—occur among those of the writers. The events recorded include the conquest of Damascus by the Hittites, that of Phœnicia by the Amorites, and that of Judea by the Hebrews. The present translations, from the cuneiform characters, are based on the copies published by Dr. H. Winckler at Berlin, and Dr. C. Bezold of the British Museum, which include the whole of the letters now in Cairo, Berlin, and London.

In dealing with inscriptions the interpretation of which is acknowledged by scholars to present many difficulties, I do not presume to suppose that my translations are beyond criticism, or always final; but I believe that such criticism, which will no doubt lead to improvements, must be confined to details,

and will not affect the general result, or the historical value of these most important texts. I may at least claim that the language in which they are written is the mother-tongue of that Syrian dialect which became known to me by speaking it daily for seven years. In dialectic pronunciation, in idiom, and in the peculiar meaning of many expressions the common speech of the Palestine peasantry is perhaps one of the best possible guides to an understanding of the writings of their Canaanite ancestors.

The study of monumental inscriptions is often called a 'by-path' of Biblical knowledge. But in an age of destructive criticism it seems to me to present the most important weapon that can be placed in the hands of those who desire, without seeking to support any particular theory, to arrive at truth concerning the ancient history of Palestine and of the Hebrew people. In the present case we have become possessed of a mass of political correspondence dating about the time when, according to the Bible, the Hebrew invasion under Joshua took place, and which in bulk represents a literature equal to about half the length of the entire Pentateuch. That the Hebrews should be mentioned in such letters as conquering the south of Palestine, and driving out the Amorite kings, will appear natural to those who believe the narrative of the Book of Joshua to represent the history of the Hebrew conquest; and that the date so determined does not agree with the now fashionable theory, which would place the conquest much later, in the time of Seti II., need not in any way disturb our minds. The date which is conjectured by some Egyptologists does not rest on any monumental evidence at all, for the simple reason that the Hebrews are not mentioned

in any Egyptian record as yet discovered, and appear ✓ for the first time in monumental history in the Tell Amarna letters. The speculation which would make their conquest so much later, while it ignores the Biblical data, is founded only on the libels of Manetho, who wrote at least twelve hundred years later, and who makes Amenophis succeed Rameses. I have never been able to understand on what grounds the date given in the Bible is so set aside, or to agree with the dictum of Dr. Brugsch, for which no evidence is brought forward from monuments, that 'beyond all doubt' Minephtah was the Pharaoh of the Exodus. We should rather, I think, agree with Josephus, the critic who exposed the ignorance of Manetho, in dismissing such opinions as 'incredible fables.'

C. R. C.

SOUTHAMPTON,
Oct. 17, 1892.

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C. R. C.

SOUTHAMPTON,
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PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION.

THE interest taken in the Tell Amarna letters leads to the preparation of a Second Edition of this work within the year of publication. I have carefully revised the whole, and have now added translations of the royal letters which, though not written in Palestine, still cast light on the history of the great rebellion. The total of two hundred and twenty letters represents all that the collection contains, the rest being broken fragments from which no consecutive readings are possible.

In almost every letter occur passages of great difficulty; and concerning these the various translators—Delattre, Zimmern, Sayce, Bezold, Halévy, and others—who have published selections out of the correspondence, are much at variance. In the present work, which continues to be the only one yet published treating of the letters as a whole, care has been taken to warn the reader of these doubtful passages, by means of queries and notes. It will not, however, be found that, as a rule, these passages have great historic importance. They are generally found in argumentative or supplicating sentences, or in personal explanations.

The difficulties in translation are due to gaps in the text and to crabbed writing; to unusual em-

blems and peculiarities of style in writing, which mark the work of the less careful scribes; to occasional doubts as to the division of words, and as to the proper sounds; and, finally, to doubts as to the meaning of words.

On the other hand great care has usually been taken by the scribes to make the meaning clear. The signs preceding the names of persons, cities, countries, etc., are of great value; and the very complete grammar renders it easy to distinguish the syntax. The noun has two genders and three cases; the plural is always marked; the verb (masculine and feminine) has all the voices and tenses of the Assyrian, which are more numerous than in Hebrew. The letters, as a rule, were read over and corrected, words being added between the lines and mistakes blurred out on the clay before it was baked. From these circumstances certainty is obtained as to the general meaning, the persons and the places noticed; and the historical passages become clearly intelligible.

In revising the former translations, by the light of further study, I have taken advantage of the recent translations of the Rev. J. A. Delattre, S.J., in the 'Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology' for 1893, especially as regards the letters from Aziru and from Tyre. In some cases, however, I find difficulty in accepting his conclusions. As regards the *Abiri*, or Hebrews, I have learned that this identification has been proposed by Dr. H. Zimmern in Germany; and this corroboration will be regarded as important. I have not had the advantage of seeing any of his papers dating from

1890 to 1891. My suggestion was first published (in the 'Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement') under date June, 1891, and it appears that the identification is likely to be generally accepted.

Many statements have been put forward respecting these letters, to which no reference is here made, because they appear to have no foundation in the texts. The view that the letters were written by Egyptian officials seems, for instance, to be invalid, because in that case they would probably have been written in the Egyptian language and characters used by the scribes who wrote dockets in ink on the tablets in Egypt. Many proposed translations also rest on the Hebrew value of words instead of the Aramaic. The language is not Hebrew, but much closer to Assyrian; and the Aramaic is therefore the safer guide. Thus the word *tsurukh*, which means in Hebrew 'to rise,' has puzzled translators, who overlook the fact that in Aramaic it means 'to prepare.' The dates given for Egyptian kings are based on an astronomical calculation which agrees with the results obtained by Dr. Brugsch, and no notice has been taken of the apparently impossible dates of Mahler. The geography of the book has not been studied in detail by any of the scholars who have treated selected letters, and appears to me to be of primary importance to the subject.

The royal letters are of great importance for the general history of Western Asia, showing the wide influence of peaceful relations between Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, Armenia, Assyria, and Babylonia; and

the interruption of these relations by the revolts in Palestine. Incidentally a favourite theory, which represents Amenophis IV. as a 'heretic king,' and Queen Thi as the founder of a new religion in Egypt, is overthrown by the letters from Dusratta. We now know that the kings of the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty married Asiatic wives long before Queen Thi wedded Amenophis III.; and that her son, like his father, was a worshipper of Amen. Tell Amarna—the central capital placed between Memphis and Thebes—seems probably to have been the seat of government before the time of Amenophis IV., and continued to be occupied by his successor Horus. The mythological tablets show us that the religion of Chaldea was well known in Egypt in the fifteenth century B.C., but there is no monumental notice of any later religious revolution, like that which is recorded to have occurred under the Hyksos King Apepi, who adored Set, the Hittite sun god.

As regards the name *Tell Amarna*, to which many scholars object as less correct than *Tel el Amarna*, I have only to add that *Tel* is an impossible spelling for a word coming from the root *Talal*, and that *Amarna* is not a word of Arabic form, so that it appears very doubtful whether the Arabic article *el* should be prefixed.

C. R. CONDER.

Dec. 1, 1893.

THE
TELL AMARNA TABLETS

I.

INTRODUCTORY.

THE following translations will show the great importance of the letters found in 1887 in Upper Egypt for the right understanding of the history and geography of Palestine. They result from two years' study of the texts as published,¹ and in the majority of cases the letters have, I believe, not been previously translated by anyone. The language is Aramaic, resembling Assyrian. The writers are Phœnicians, Amorites and Philistines, but in no instance Hittites, though Hittites are mentioned. Hence the Hittite language is not used in those letters under consideration, though it is in others of

¹ 'Thontafelfund von el Amarna,' H. Winckler, 1890 (referred to as B.); and 'The Tell el Amarna Tablets in the British Museum,' 1892 (cited as B. M.). These contain the transcripts of all the letters, amounting to 320.

the collection.¹ The date is about 1480 B.C., and the course of events, though they lasted over at least five years, is at most confined to about ten or twenty, with exception, perhaps, of some letters from the South.²

The general result confirms what I have already published as to the area of Egyptian conquests in Palestine and Syria. Thothmes III. (about 1600 B.C.) conquered the shore plains and Lower Galilee, overran Bashan to Damascus, which he took, and marched up to the Taurus. Rameses II. (about 1330 B.C.) held the maritime plains and Lower Galilee and Syria: the conquests of the former had, as we now see, been lost by his descendants, and Rameses II. had to recapture Ascalon, which is under the Egyptians in the present correspondence. Seti I. fought in the Beersheba plains. Rameses III. (who was attacked by the people of Asia Minor in Egypt itself) went as far east, on the south, as

¹ Dusratta's great letter of 512 lines of syllabic writing in the Hittite language I have translated and published in the journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, October, 1892. There is a short letter (10 B.) by the Hittite Prince of Rezep in a dialect of the same language. This is much more difficult to read in some passages. It refers to a number of presents sent to Egypt (see Appendix). These letters appear to me to place the question of the character of the Hittite language beyond dispute. The proper names of Hittites in the letters here given are also, like the above, Mongolic.

² The southern letters begin in the time of Labaya, and go on to the time of his sons. Probably Dr. Bezold's view is the right one, that the war began in the time of Amenophis III., and continued to that of Amenophis IV., which would mean some ten or twelve years.

INTRODUCTORY

Beersheba; but none of these kings entered the mountains of Judah or Samaria, or ever mention taking cities in Moab or Gilead. The reason, as I have before suggested, was a very simple one: the chariots, which formed the basis of Egyptian power, were not capable of being driven over the mountains. We have an instance ('Travels of an Egyptian') of a chariot being broken in crossing even the low hills south of Mount Carmel. The Egyptians held the main road along the sea-coast, as far as the Eleutherus, where it turned inland and went along the Orontes to Aleppo. They had also cross lines to Damascus by Hermon on the north, and through Bashan on the south.¹

The language of the letters is very like the Aramaic of the Talmud (see Buxtorff's great lexicon), and is like Arabic in many particulars rather than like Hebrew. It is the same language in an archaic condition which is now spoken by the peasantry of Palestine. The recovery of some 130 towns mentioned in the letters, not only makes the topography clear, but enables us to fix approximately the historical order of the letters. It settles the sites of several important places, such as Gath, Makkedah, Baal Gad, Enam, Lachish, etc.; and it illustrates very fully the Bible geography. The personal names are very interesting, being Semitic, except in the case of Hittite names, which are Mongolic. Egyptian words occur wherever

¹ See Judges i. 19, when at a later period the Canaanites still held the lowlands, 'because they had chariots of iron.'

reference is made to Egyptian officials (which has not, I believe, been previously recognised), and Akkadian terms also occur in the north. The names of the gods are those found in the Bible, including Baal, Baalath, Rimmon, Shamash, Nebo, Dagon and Addu, who, as Gesenius has shown, was Adonis. The word Elohim occurs frequently. The civilization of the times is abundantly shown, and various kinds of cities are specified, such as 'capital cities,' 'provincial cities,' 'fortresses,' 'towns' and 'villages,' with 'camps,' and Hazors (or enclosures); while irrigation of gardens is also noticed, and the papyrus grown at Gebal; as well as copper, tin, gold, silver, agate, money (not, of course, coins) and precious objects of many kinds; mulberries, olives, corn, ships and chariots.

But the most interesting letters are from the south, and these refer with great clearness to the conquest of the country between Mount Seir on the east, Ajalon, Lachish, Ascalon and Gezer on the west, and Shiloh and Rimmon on the north. The name of one of the kings killed by Joshua (Japhia, Josh. x. 3) is found in the south, and in all probability that of Adonizedek of Jerusalem also; and in the north the name of the King of Hazor is probably to be read as Jabin, which was the name of the King of Hazor whom Joshua attacked (Josh. xi. 1). The Hebrews (*'Abiri*) are said to have come from the desert, and from Mount Seir.

The date of the letters is exactly that which is to be derived from the Bible (1 Kings vi. 1) for the

Hebrew invasion, according to the Hebrew and Vulgate text (the Septuagint makes it forty years later), and it agrees with the fact that the Egyptian conquests made by the 18th dynasty (1700 to 1600 B.C.) had been lost when the 19th dynasty acceded. The letters state that the Egyptian troops had been withdrawn in the year in which the Hebrews came from the desert. In the north the Kings of Armenia, Nii (on Euphrates) and Shinar, with the Hittites of Merash and Kadesh, leagued against Egypt, and Damascus fell. They were joined by the Amorites, who conquered all Phœnicia and besieged Tyre. But there is no evidence of further advance; while, on the other hand, the *Abiri* are never mentioned in letters written in Syria or Northern Palestine, and are distinctly said to come from Edom. The date, which some Egyptologists suggest for the Exodus¹ (a century later than the time of these letters) is purely speculative, because no reference to the Hebrews has been found in any Egyptian texts. The Egyptians never held the mountains of Judah and Ephraim (though they had a garrison in Jerusalem, which was withdrawn before Joshua came), and therefore they did not come in contact with the Hebrews, who only raided into the lowlands, which the Amorites and Philistines held till Solomon's time (see especially Judges i.). The date proposed by Brugsch for the Exodus ignores entirely the chronology of the Book of Kings, and rests on no

¹ See Appendix as to the date of the Exodus.

monumental basis at all. The oppression of Israel in Galilee by Jabin II., King of Hazor, corresponds with the time when Rameses II. reconquered this region, after taking Ascalon,¹ which in these letters is found to have submitted to the Hebrews. But none of the Egyptian records speak of the Egyptians as entering the mountains of Judah either in the times of the 18th or of the 19th dynasties: nor were their chariots ever seen in Gilead, Moab, or Mount Seir.

It will be clear, therefore, that these letters are the most important historical records ever found in connection with the Bible, and that they most fully confirm the historical statements of the Book of Joshua, and prove the antiquity of civilization in Syria and in Palestine.

The letters, as is well known, are on brick tablets,² and written in an ancient form of the cuneiform script. The translations are from the original characters in all cases.

The condition of the country before the wars is well shown in the credentials of a Babylonian envoy to Egypt, sealed with a Babylonian seal, and reading as follows:

¹ The name of Sisera, captain of Jabin's host, may very probably be Egyptian, *Ses-Ra*, or 'servant of Ra.'

² The clay from different parts of the country differs, and gives various colours and surfaces to the tablets, so that it has been found possible by the clay alone to decide with some certainty the derivation of a few of the tablets when the name of the writer is lost. This has an interesting bearing on the question of the date of the various letters from the King of Jerusalem.

B. M. 58.—‘To the kings of the land of Canaan, servants of my brother, thus says the great King. Now *Akiya* is my messenger to the presence of the King of Egypt, my brother. I send him to be respected by all. Let none delay his march at all; despatch him carefully to the Land of Egypt; and as for him, he conducts natives of the land of Egypt. With a speedy message they proceed to go forth; and do ye nothing against him.’

The following letter appears also to be of early date:

B. 144.—‘To the King my Lord and my Sun by letter thus (says) *Muduzukhi* thy servant, the dust of thy feet, who crawls to the protection of the King my Lord. At the feet of the King my Lord seven times seven times I bow. The King my Lord has sent by *Khai*, to speak of the roads of the land of *Khani Rabbe*.¹ This our explanation we have despatched. Who am I that I should explain our roads to the King my Lord . . . to the land of *Khani Rabbe*, and to the land of *Karadunias*. Let the King command our road. I will convey on it, as far as it goes.’ At this time an embassy was probably about to be sent to Dusratta, the King of the Minyans, by his friend Amenophis III.

¹ The land of *Khani Rabbe* was Southern Armenia, west of Lake Van; otherwise called Mitani, and the ‘land of the Minyan race.’ The title seems to mean ‘land of the great Khan,’ from the Mongol word for a ‘prince,’ still in use. The population (see B. 27) was mainly Mongolic, and akin to the Hittites.

The road became familiar later to Egyptian envoys.

Another letter from Tunip¹ refers to the commencement of the war, and is valuable as giving the approximate date :

B. M. 41.—‘To the King of Egypt our Lord thus (say) the sons of the city *Tunip*, and the chief your servant : Peace be before thee, and I bow at the feet of my Lord. My Lord, thus the city *Tunip* causes the chief to say. Who was it saved the city *Tunip* formerly? Was it not *Manakhbiria*² who saved the abode of this people? His Gods and his rule our region chose ; exalting the Gods of the King of the land of Egypt our Lord, they dwelt in the city of Tunip ; and let our Lord ask the ancients of the region of this people ; and lo ! we have kept the peace of our Lord the King of Egypt. And behold for *twenty years* our messengers have been sent to the King our Lord. With the King our Lord they have dwelt, and now behold our Lord adores (Rimmon?)³ to the King our Lord He has given rest from the foe ; and may he establish our Lord.

¹ Tunip, now *Tennib*, was close to Arpad, north-west of Aleppo. It was identified by Noldeke.

² *Manakhbiiria*, as Dr. Bezold points out, stands for *Men-Kheperu-ra*, the title of Thothmes IV. As Amenophis III. succeeded him about 1500 B.C., the date cannot be later than about 1480 B.C., in the latter part of the reign of the latter king.

³ The god’s name might also be rendered Adonis (*Addu*). The sign means ‘God of the air,’ and is equivalent to the Egyptian *Shu*, God of air, wind and sky.

And our Lord adoring (Rimmon?) He hath established as King of Egypt; and why should our Lord the King turn from his former way? And lo! *Aziru*¹ is thy servant: to thy governors he listens attentively; and because of the land of the *Hittites*, which is arrayed, he hath come to them. And behold his soldiers and his chariots followed. And as for us, to *Aziru* they have done as they did to the city *Ni*.² Thus as for us we have not avenged; but the King of Egypt will avenge this, because of these messages as to what they are doing. Let *Aziru* rule who is powerful with our Lord. And behold *Aziru* will strive with the city *Zumura*³ to make them subject to him in the power of the King our Lord; and because of messages that they have gone out he avenges this. And now the city of *Tunip* is thy city; it laments, and they are afraid that they will burn, and warring for him their power has been brought to nought; as for us for *twenty years* we sent (messages) to the King our Lord, the King of Egypt; and not one message of our Lord to us have we put to shame.⁴

¹ Son of Abdasherah, chief of the Amorites, as appears later.

² *Ni*, often mentioned in Egyptian texts and in these letters, is supposed to be *Ninus Vetus*, on the Euphrates, east of Tunip. Its chief was afterwards allied with the Hittites.

³ *Zumura* is the *Zemar* of the Bible (Gen. x. 18), the later *Simyra* of Strabo, now *Sumrah*, on the north side of the Eleutherus river, commanding the pass from Tripoli to the inland plains of Kadesh and Hamath on the way to the north.

⁴ In this connection B. M. 2 is important. It is from

This letter explains the relations which led to the whole of the war between the Amorites and Phœnicians, as further detailed in the letters of Aziru and Ribadda.

Burnaburias of Babylon to Amenophis IV. shortly after his accession, and would therefore be about 1460 B.C. He here speaks of the Canaanite revolt as occurring in the time of his father—that is, in the reign of Amenophis III. (see Appendix).

II.

THE HITTITE INVASION OF DAMASCUS.

36 B. M.—‘ To King *Annumuria*¹ (Amenophis III.) Son of the Sun my Lord thus (says) this thy servant *Akizzi*.² Seven times at the feet of my Lord I bow. My Lord in these my lands I am afraid. Mayst thou protect one who is thy servant under the yoke of my Lord. From the yoke of my Lord I do not rebel. Lo! there is fear of my foes. The people of this thy servant are under thy yoke : this country is among thy lands : the city *Katna*³ is thy city : I am on the side of my Lord’s rule (yoke). Lo! the soldiers and the chariots of my Lord’s government have received corn and drink, oxen and beasts (oil and honey ?), meeting the soldiers and the chariots of my Lord’s dominion (coming ?) to me. And now

¹ This name, frequently found in the letters is the Egyptian *Neb-mat-ra*, or Amenophis III. It agrees with the date already deduced from the preceding letter.

² As the Amorite *z* or *s'* seems sometimes to represent the Hebrew *sh*, this name might be compared with the Philistine Achish.

³ Katna is the present *Katanah*, on the south of Hermon, west of Damascus.

let my Lord ask the great men of his dominion. My Lord, all lands tremble before thy soldiers and thy chariots. If these lands are under the dominion of my Lord's land, and they are seizing them, let him order his soldiers and his chariots this year, and let him take the land of *Marhasse*,¹ the whole of it, to the yoke of my Lord, when—my Lord—the soldiers of the slaves² are³ For six days ago he went out into the land of *Hu(ba)*, and truly *Aziru* is sending them, and if in this year my Lord does not send out the soldiers and the chariots of his government to meet *Aziru* (and) make him flee all will rebel My Lord, know him. My Lord (know) the men who are his foes And lo! now the King of the land of the *Hittites* with pride rebels against his gods. And men who are destroyers serve the King of the land of the *Hittites*: he sends them forth. My Lord, my servants, the men of the city of *Katna*, *Aziru* expels, and all that is theirs, out of the land of the dominion of my Lord; and behold (he takes?) the northern lands of the dominion of my Lord. Let (my Lord) save the of the men of the city *Katna*. My Lord truly they made he steals their gold my Lord; as has been said there

¹ Others read *Nuhasse*. It was a Hittite country, and appears to be that of *Mer'ash*, under the Taurus, where a number of important Hittite remains are found (see especially B. 31, 32).

² Throughout the letters the enemy is always called a 'slave,' a 'slave dog,' or 'son of a dog,' as also in Egyptian texts.

³ Where breaks occur they are due to fractures of the tablet.

MAP OF NORTHERN PALESTINE.

HITTITE WAR.



is fear, and truly they give gold. My Lord—Sun God, my fathers' god¹—the men have made themselves your foes, and they have wasted from over against the abode of their camp (or fortress); and now behold—O Sun God of my fathers—the King of the *Hittites* makes them march. And know of them, my Lord—may the gods make slack their hand. As has been said there is fear. And lo! perchance the Sun God of my fathers will turn his heart towards me. My Lord's word is sure, and let the (increase or tithe of gold?) be given him, as we have purposed for the Sun God of my fathers. As has been said they have done to me; and they have destroyed the of my Lord. For this corner—the dwelling of their fortress (or camp)—is out of sight of the Sun God.'

37 B. M.—'To King *Annumuria* Son of the Sun my Lord, thus (says) *Akizzi* thy servant: seven times at the feet of my Lord I bow. My Lord now there is flight and no breathing of the of the King my Lord. And behold now the of this dominion of my Lord, in these lands and behold now the King of the land of the *Hittites* sends forth and the heart of smites him. And now behold the King my Lord sends to me, and is complaining. with me as to the rule of the King of the land of the *Hittites*. And as for me

¹ This appears, as throughout the letters, to apply to the King of Egypt. All the Egyptian kings were regarded as descendants of Gods, and are so addressed in Egyptian records.

. the King of the Land of the *Hittites*. As for me I am with the King my Lord, and with the Land of Egypt. I sent and as to the rule of the King of the land of the *Hittites*.'

'This text is much damaged; it goes on to speak of *Aidugama*,¹ the Hittite king, in the country of the King of Egypt, who has taken various things—enumerated, but not intelligible—including, perhaps, ships or boats, and dwellings; and it mentions *Neboyapiza*. It then continues:

'My Lord: *Teuiatti* of the city *Lapana*,² and *Arzuia* of the city *Ruhizzi*,³ minister before *Aidugama*; but this land is the land of the dominion of my Lord. He is burning it with fire. My Lord, as said, I am on the side of the King my Lord. I am afraid also because of the King of the land of *Marhasse*, and the King of the Land of *Ni*, and the King of the Land of *Zinzaar*,⁴ and the King of the Land of *Canaan*. And all of these are Kings under the dominion (or, of the rule) of my Lord—chiefs who are servants. As said let the King my Lord live and become mighty, and so O King my Lord wilt not thou go forth? and let the King my

¹ *Aidugama* does not appear to be a Semitic name, but, as we should expect in Hittite, it is Mongol, and compares with Akkadian, as meaning 'the victorious lord.' He is called *Edagama* by the King of Tyre (B. M. 30), who mentions his fighting with *Neboyapiza*, and *Aziru's* also.

² Probably *Lapana* is *Lybo*, now *Lebweh*, north of Baalbek.

³ Probably *R'aiith* (or *K'ais*), on the east side of the Buka'ah plain, east of Zahleh, on the way from the Hittite country.

⁴ Perhaps should read *Zinaar* for *Senaar*, the Shinar of the Bible. Merash and *Ni* have been noted above.

Lord despatch the *bitati*¹ soldiers, let them expel (them) from this land. As said my Lord these kings have the chief of my Lord's government, and let him say what they are to do, and let them be confirmed. Because my Lord this land ministers heartily to the King my Lord. And let him speed soldiers, and let them march; and let the messengers of the dominion of the King my Lord arrive. For my Lord *Arzuia* of the city *Ruhizzi*, and *Tenuiatti* of the city *Lapana*, dwelt in the land of *Huba*,² and *Dasru* dwelt in the land *Amma*,³ and truly my Lord has known them. Behold the land of *Hobah* was at peace my Lord in the days of this government. They will be subject to *Aidugama*. Because we ask, march thou here and mayest all the land of *Hobah*. My Lord as said the city *Timasgi*,⁴ in the land of *Hobah*, is without sin at thy feet; and aid

¹ This word *bitati* always applies (and it is used very often) to Egyptian soldiers. It seems to be an Egyptian word. Compare *pet*, 'foot,' and *petet*, 'to invade or march,' in Egyptian.

² *Huba* is identified by Dr. Bezold with the land of *Hobah* (Gen. xiv. 15), which was at the 'entering in' north of Damascus. The 'entering in' here and at Hamath means a pass between hills leading to the city. It has been objected that *Hobah* would be *Ubatu* in Assyrian; but this fails in view of the detailed topography, which shows that Dr. Bezold was right. The Hebrew *heh* is often replaced by *aleph* or *vau* in Aramaic.

³ The land *Am* or *Amma*, several times mentioned, appears to be the Old Testament land of Ham, in Northern Bashan, near Damascus (Gen. xiv. 5). The Hebrew is spelt with the soft aspirate, not the hard guttural. It may perhaps be connected with the name of the *Amu* of Egyptian records.

⁴ Damascus according to Dr. Bezold.

thou the city *Katna* which is without sin at thy feet. It has been feeble. And my Lord in presence of my messenger the master shall ordain (our) fate. As has been said, have not I served in the presence of the *bitati* soldiers of my Lord? Behold, as said, my Lord has promised soldiers to this my land, and they shall in the city *Katna*.'

96 B., a letter mainly complimentary, from *Neboyapiza*¹ to the King of Egypt, ends as follows :

'Behold I myself, with my soldiers and my chariots, with my brethren and with (men of blood?) and with my people the men of my kindred go to meet the Egyptian soldiers, as far as the ground which the King my Lord will name.'

142 B.—'To the King my Lord thus saith this thy servant. At the feet of my Lord my Sun seven times on my face, seven times I bow. My Lord I am thy servant, and they will devour me—*Neboyapiza*: we abide before thy face, my Lord, and lo! they will devour me in your sight. Behold every fortress of my fathers is taken, by the people out of the city *Gidisi*.² And my fortresses (say) "Speed us avengers." I make ready, and (because that?) the *Pakas*³ of the King my Lord, and the chiefs of his

¹ This name can be read *Namyapiza* or *Zimyapiza*, but probably means 'Nebo is holy,' Nebo being a well-known deity.

² *Gidisi* or *Cidisi* is apparently *Kadesh* of the Hittites—now *Kades* on the *Orontes*—north of the city of *Neboyapiza*. It is called *Cidsi* by the King of Tyre (B. M. 30), and *Ciidsa* in the proclamation (92 B.).

³ *Paka* is one of the words used to designate Egyptian residents or generals. It seems to be Egyptian, and simply means *Pa-ka*, 'chief man.'

land have known my faithfulness, behold I complain to the ruler being one approved; let the ruler consider that (*Neboyapiza*) has given proof for now they have cast thee out. As for me, I have (gathered?) all my brethren, and we have made the place strong for the King my Lord. I have caused them to march with my soldiers and with my chariots, and with all my people. And behold *Neboyapiza* has sped to all the fortresses of the King my Lord. Part of the men of blood are from the land *Ammusi*,¹ and (part) from the land of *Hubi*, and it is won (or reached). But march fast, thou who art a God² and a Sun in my sight, and restore the strongholds to the King my Lord from the men of blood. For they have cast him out; and the men of blood have rebelled, and are invaders of the King my Lord. We were obedient to thy yoke, and they have cast out the King my Lord, and all my brethren.'

It appears, from other letters, that the city of this chief was the important town *Cumidi*, now *Kamid*, in the Southern Lebanon, at the south end of the Baalbek plain, west of Baal Gad. In Abu el Feda's time this town was the capital of the surrounding district.

189 B. is much broken. It is from *Arzana*, chief

¹ *Ammusi* might be the ancient name of Emesa, now *Homs*, immediately north of Kadesh. (See Note.)

² *Elohim* is in the plural, as several scholars have remarked. It often applies to the King of Egypt.

of the city *Khazi*.¹ He speaks of an attack on *Tusulti*, by bloody soldiers fighting against the place, and perhaps of the city *Bel Gidda* (Baal Gad),² and mentions a *Paka*, or Egyptian official, called *Aman Khatbi*, named after the Egyptian god Amen. The foes are spoiling the Valley (of Baalbek) in sight of the Egyptian general, and are attacking *Khazi*, his city. They had already taken *Maguzi*,³ and are spoiling Baal Gad. It seems that he asks the King not to blame his general, and speaks finally of friendly and faithful men.

43 B. M., broken at the top, reads thus :

‘ . . . his horses and his chariots . . . to men of blood and not. . . . As for me, I declare myself for the King my Lord, and a servant to preserve these to the King entirely. *Biridasia* perceives this, and has betrayed it, and he has secretly passed beyond my city *Maramma*;⁴ and the great pass is

¹ *Khazi* is evidently *Ghazze*, near the south end of the Baalbek plain, south of the Damascus road.

² This is doubtful, as the text is broken, and only gives *Belgi* Baal Gad was, as I have attempted recently to show, probably near *'Ain Judeideh*, on the north of Hermon, and close to the great pass.

³ *Maguzi*, or *Mukhzi*, is probably *Mekseh*, on the Damascus road, west of Stora.

⁴ May be read *Yanuamma*. It seems to be *M'araba*, north of Damascus, which agrees with the context. The great pass mentioned here in connection with Damascus was apparently that by which the main road from the west came down the Barada at Abila. This is the ‘entering in’ to Damascus, which (Gen. xiv. 15) was in the land of Hobah. This agrees with the position of Neboyapiza’s town *Kamid*, west of Baal Gad, and to

open behind me. And he is marching chariots from the city *Astarti*,¹ and commands them for the men of blood, and does not command them for the King my Lord. Friendly to him is the King of the city *Buzruna*;² and the King of the city of *Khalavunni*³ has made promises to him: both have fought with *Biridasia* against me. Wickedly they vex us. I have marched our kinsmen—the people of *Neboya-piza*—but his success never fails and he rebels. As for me from and he sends out from the city *Dimasca* (Damascus) behold they complain they afflict. I am complaining to the King of Egypt as a servant; and *Arzaiaia* is marching to the city *Gizza*,⁴ and *Azi(ru)* takes soldiers. . . . The Lord of the city *Saddu*⁵ declares for the men of blood, and

the west of the pass. The scribe here wrote 'east of me,' and corrected to 'behind me.'

¹ Probably not Ashtoreth Carnaim, which is mentioned in another letter, but rather *Stora*, in the Baalbek plain, north-west of Baal Gad. Arzaya's town seems to have been *Mekseh*, west of *Stora* (125 B. M.).

² Buzruna is probably *Ratruna*, on the mountain west of the west end of the pass, and immediately east of Baal Gad (perhaps mentioned again in the fragment 205 B.).

³ Khalavunni, or Halabunni, is the Helbon of the Bible (Ezek. xxvii. 18), now *Helbon*, north of Damascus, and five miles north of the middle of the pass. It must have been an important city because of the term 'king.' It was noted for wine, not only in Ezekiel's time, but, as Strabo mentions, the Kings of Persia brought wine from Chalybon.

⁴ Gizza is perhaps the important town *Jezzîn*, in the Lebanon, south-west of Kamid, unless it be *Jizeh*, in Bashan, between Edrei and Bozrah.

⁵ Saddu is perhaps *Nebi Shît*, south of Baalbek: or possibly,

her chief does not declare for the King my Lord ; and as far as this tribe marches it has afflicted the land of *Gizza*. *Arzaiaia* with *Biridasia* afflicts the land (which is wretched ? or *Abitu*), and the King witnesses the division of his land. Let not men who have been hired disturb her. Lo ! my brethren have fought for me. As for me, I will guard the town of *Cumidi* (Kamid) the city of the King my Lord. But truly the King forgets his servant his servant, O King have arrayed Kings the men of the wretched land' (or of the land *Abitu*).

152 B.— ' thus *Ara* (*ga* ?) chief of the city *Cumidi*¹ (Kamid) at the feet of the King my Lord seven times seven times I bow. Behold as to me I am thy faithful servant : let the King my Lord ask of his *Pakas* (chiefs) as to me, a faithful servant of the King my Lord, one whom they have ruined. Truly I am a faithful servant of the King my Lord, and let the King my Lord excuse this dog, and let him (bear me in remembrance ?). But never a horse and never a chariot is mine, and let this be considered in sight of the King my Lord ; and closely allied² is his servant ; and to explain this I am despatching my son to the land of the King my Lord, and let the King my Lord deign to hear me.'

though less probably, *Sh'ait*, south of Kamid, on the south-west slope of Hermon.

¹ Cumidi, or Kamid, was important as a central station between Damascus and the coast cities of Sidon and Beirut.

² Or, perhaps, 'hard-pressed.'

46 B. M.—‘At the feet of the King my Lord seven and seven (times) I bow. Behold what this our saying tells, as to the land *Am* (Ham) the fortresses of the King my Lord. A man named *Eda* . . has arisen, a chief of the land *Cinza* east of the land of the *Hittites*, to take the fortresses of the King my Lord and we made the fortresses for the King my Lord my God my Sun, and we have lived in the fortresses of the King my Lord.’

125 B.—‘To the King my Lord thus *Arzaiaia*, chief of the city *Mikhiza*.¹ At the feet of my Lord I bow. King my Lord, I have heard as to going to meet the Egyptian (*bitati*) soldiers of the King my Lord who are with us, to meet the general (*Paka*) with (all the infantry?) all who have marched to overthrow the King my Lord. Truly a (great strength to the people?) are the Egyptian (*bitati*) soldiers of the King my Lord, and his commander (*Paka*). As for me, do I not order all to after them? Behold they have been speedy, O King my Lord, and his foes are delayed by them by the hand of the King my Lord.’

126 B.—The same writer, in a broken letter, calls himself a faithful servant of the King. This was perhaps at an earlier period of the war, before the events recorded by *Neboyapiza* (189 B., 43 B. M.).

75 B. M.—A short letter from *Dasru* to say he has heard the King’s message. He lived in the land of *Ham* (37 B. M.).

¹ *Mikhiza*, perhaps the same as *Maguzi*, written by another scribe—the modern *Mekseh*, as given above. *Maguzi* might be otherwise transliterated as *Mukhzi*.

127 B. M.—The same writer says that all that the King does for his land is of good omen.

171 B.—‘A message and information from the servant of the King my Lord my God. . . . And behold what the chief of *Simyra* has done to my brethren of the city of *Tubakhi*;¹ and he marches to waste the fortresses of the King my Lord my God my Sun the land of the *Amorites*. He has wearied out our chiefs. The fortresses of the King my Lord my God . . . are for men of blood. And now strong is the god of the King my Lord my God my Sun; and the city of *Tubakhi* goes forth to war, and I have stirred up my brethren, and I guard the city of *Tubakhi* for the King my Lord my God my Sun. And behold this city of *Tubakhi* is the city of the plains of my fathers.’

132 B.—‘To the King my Lord by letter thus (says) *Artabania* chief of the city *Ziribasani*² thy servant. At the feet of the King my Lord seven times, on my face, seven times I bow. Behold a

¹ *Tubakhi* is the *Tubakhai* of the ‘Travels of an Egyptian’ in the reign of Rameses II. (Chabas, p. 313), mentioned with Kadesh on Orontes; and is the *Tibhath* of the Bible (1 Chron. xviii. 8), otherwise *Berothai*. It may perhaps be the present *Kefr Dubbeh*, west of Baalbek, and south of Kadesh, while *Berothai* is thought to be the present *Brithen* (see 2 Sam. viii. 8), a few miles south of Baalbek. The letter shows Aziru in league with the Hittites. David conquered these cities from the King of Damascus.

² Dr. Sayce calls this ‘the fields of Bashan’; probably, when taken with the next letters, we may place the site at Zora, in Bashan, now *Ezra*. De Rougé and Mariette showed that Thothmes III. conquered Bashan.

message to me to speed to meet the Egyptian (*bitati*) soldiers. And who am I but a dog only, and shall I not march? Behold me, with my soldiers and my chariots meeting the Egyptian soldiers at the place of which the King my Lord speaks.'

78 B. M.—'To the King my Lord thus the chief of the city *Gubbu*¹ thy servant. At the feet of the King my Lord my Sun (permit?) that seven times on my face seven times I bow. Thou hast sent as to going to meet the Egyptian soldiers, and now I with my soldiers and my chariots meet the soldiers of the King my Lord, at the place you march to.'

64 B. M.—'To *Yankhamu*² my Lord by letter thus *Muutaddu* thy servant. I bow at my Lord's feet as this says, announcing that the enemy is hastening speedily as—my Lord—was announced to the King of the city *Bikhisi*³ from friends⁴ of his

¹ *Gubbu* is perhaps *Jubbata*, on the south side of Hermon, near the places mentioned in the next letter.

² *Yankhamu*, an Egyptian commander, appears in these letters in all parts of the country, from the extreme south to the north, and in Phœnicia as well as in Bashan. His name does not seem to be Semitic.

³ This letter does not say who the enemies were or in which direction they advanced. Perhaps *Bikhisi* may be regarded as the present '*Abbaseh* (by inversion of the guttural), which is fifteen miles south-west of Damascus, near the main road to the town of Jabesh, whence the letter comes.

⁴ The word *rabizi*, which is here made equivalent to *zukini*, gives great difficulty. In Hebrew the root means 'to rest,' and the word is still applied in Palestine to resting of flocks. *Zukini* appears, as Dr. Bezold points out, to be the same as the Phœnician word *Soken* (which has exactly the required letters);

Lord. Let the King my Lord speed: let the King my Lord fly: for the foe is wasting in the city *Bikhisi* this two months, there is none On account of (*Bibelu*?) having told me this one has asked then until by the arrival of *Anamarut* (Amenophis IV.)¹ the city of *Ashtoreth* is occupied.² Behold they have destroyed all the fortresses of neighbouring lands: the city *Udumu*,³ the city *Aduri*,⁴ the city *Araru*,⁵ the city *Meis(pa* ?),⁶ the city *Macdalim*,⁷ the city *Khini*.⁸ I announced that they had taken the city *Zaar*.⁹ They are fighting this city, the city *Yabisi*.¹⁰ Moreover, fearing the force against me, I am watching it till you arrive.

but the meaning of this also is doubtful. Renan translates it either 'inhabitant' or 'senator.' The word occurs in the Bible (1 Kings i. 2, 4; Ezek. xxviii. 14), with the meaning also doubtful, but the root means 'to cherish.' Perhaps 'friends' suits best the various recurrences.

¹ This word seems to mean 'glory of the sun,' the Egyptian *Khu-en-Aten*. The explanation throws light on a difficult passage in a letter from Elishah (B. M. 5; see Appendix). If *Khu-en-Aten* (Amenophis IV.) is intended, he may have been commander while still only a prince, since the events seem to belong to the reign of Amenophis III.

² *Astarti* seems here to be *Ashtoreth Carnaim*, the present *Tell Ashterah*.

³ *Udumu*, now *Dameh*, the *Dametha* of Maccabean times.

⁴ *Aduri*—*Edrei* in Bashan, now *Edhr'a*.

⁵ *Araru*—'*Ar'ar*, nine miles south-east of *Ashtoreth*.

⁶ *Meispa*—*Ramath-Mizpah* of Bashan, now *Remtheh*.

⁷ *Macdalim*, probably *Mejdel Shems*, east of *Banias*.

⁸ *Khini*—*Hineh*, south of *Hermon*, near the last.

⁹ *Zaar*—*Zora* of Bashan, now *Ezra*.

¹⁰ *Yabisi*—*Yabis*, a few miles north-west of the last.

One has come from your way to the city *Bikhisi*,¹ and he has made us hear the news.'

134 B.—'To the King my Lord by letter thus *Abdmelec* the chief of this city *Saskhi*² thy servant. At the feet of the King my Lord on my face seven times I bow. Thou hast sent as to going to meet the Egyptian soldiers, accordingly I with my soldiers and my chariots (am) meeting the soldiers of the King my Lord, at the place to which you will march.'

143 B.—'To the King our Lord thus (says) *Addubaya* and thus also *Betili*. At the feet of our Lord we bow. Peace indeed to the face of our Lord. And (as is fit?) from the lands of our Lord, much they salute. O our Lord, will not you settle everything in your heart? Will not you harden your heart as to this combat O our Lord? But their intention is clear—to make war on the stations, as in our country they do not follow after thee. *Lupackhallu*³ has removed the soldiers of the *Hittites*; they will go against the cities of the land of Ham (*Am*) and from *Atadumi* they will (take?) them. And let our Lord know, since we hear that *Zitana*⁴ the Phœnician (*Kharu*) has deserted, who

¹ The Egyptians would cross the Jordan near Megiddo, and come from the south-west to oppose an enemy on the north and east, and reach '*Abbāseh*', on the north, later than *Yabis*.

² *Saskhi* is probably *Sa'sa*, east of Banias, and north-west of *Yabis*.

³ *Lupackhallu*, a non-Semitic Hittite name. As a Mongol word, 'the very swift.'

⁴ *Zitana* was King of *Accho*—a somewhat similar name; but probably the King of *Arvad* is meant, as appears later.

will march. And nine chiefs of the soldiers of the government are with us who march, and the message is unfavourable: a gathering in the land they have made; and they will arrive from the land of *Marhasse* (*Mer'ash*). But I cause *Betili* to send against this (foe). Thus we wage war against them. And my trusty messenger I cause to be sent to your presence, as said; for you to return an order whether we shall do so or whether not. To *Raban* and *Abdba'al*, to *Rabana* and *Rabziddu* thus: behold to all of you be peace indeed, and will not you harden your hearts, and will not you settle all in your hearts, and do what is fitting from your places? Much peace; and to (the people?) peace be increased.'

91 B.—'To the King my Lord thus (says) the city *Gebal*¹ (and) thus *Rabikhar* ("the Lord of Phœnicia") thy servant. At the feet of my Lord the Sun seven seven I bow. Do not be angry, O King my Lord, with the city of *Gebal* (*Gubla*) thy handmaid—a city of the King from of old, obeying what the King commands as to *Aziru*, and it did as he wished. Behold *Aziru* slew *Adunu*, lord of the land of *Ammia*,² and the King of the land of *Ardata*,³ and has slain the great men, and has taken their cities for himself. The city *Simyra* is his. Of the

¹ This letter belongs to a late period in the war, since Ullaza has been taken. It is given here as referring to the land of Ham. It may very well have been written after Ribadda, the King of Gebal, left the city (see 71 B.).

² Ammia, mentioned again, appears to be *Amyun*, south of Simyra.

³ Ardata is *Ardi*, near the last.

cities of the King only the city *Gebal* escapes for the King. Behold the city *Simyra* is subjected. He has smitten the city *Ullaza*.¹ The captains of both have gone into exile. Behold this sin *Aziru* wrought. Sinful are his strivings against her he has smitten all the lands of *Ham* (*Am*), lands of the King; and now he has despatched his men to destroy all the lands of *Ham*; and the King of the land of the *Hittites*, and the King of the land of *Nereb* (*Nariba*)² (have made?) the land conquered land.'

From these letters we learn clearly that the Mongol kings near the Euphrates (and as appears later in Armenia) were leagued with the Hittites of Mer'ash in the extreme North of Syria, and of Kadesh on the Orontes; and were supported by the Amorites of the Northern Lebanon, and by some of the Phœnicians: that the enemy marched south, a distance of 300 miles, taking all the towns in the Baalbek valley, reaching Damascus by the gorge of the Barada River, and advancing into the land of Ham—in Bashan—where all the chief towns fell. This serves to make clear the treachery of *Aziru*'s letters which follow. The Amorite advance on the Phœnician coast was contemporary, and extended to Tyre. It appears, however, that the Amorites were a Semitic people, while the names of the Hittites are Mongolic.

¹ *Kefr Khullis*, north of *Gebal*, agrees with the required position for *Ullaza*, which is mentioned often.

² *Nariba* is *Nereb*, on the Euphrates, in the Hittite country.

III.

THE AMORITE TREACHERY.

No. 35 B.—‘To the King my Lord my God my Sun *Aziru* thy servant; and seven times at the feet of my Lord my God my Sun I bow.’ The letter is much broken, but promises he will never rebel, and says he is sincere. He desires land of the king (at Simyra), and says the men of the government are friendly, but that the city of Simyra is to be made promptly to fulfil its engagements (see the letter placed second in the present collection).

35 B. M.—‘To the Great King my Lord my God my Sun thus (says) this thy servant *Aziru*. Seven times and seven times at the feet of my Lord my God my Sun I bow. My Lord I am thy servant, and (from my youth?) in the presence of the King my Lord, and I fulfil all my orders to the sight of my Lord. And what they who are my (agents?) shall say to my Lord as to the chiefs who are faithful, in the sight of the King my Lord, will not you hear me speak, I who am thy servant sincere as long as I

live? But when the King my Lord sent *Khani*,¹ I was resting in the city of *Tunip* (*Tennib*) and there was no knowledge behold of his arriving. Whereupon he gave notice, and coming after him also, have I not reached him? And let *Khani* speak to testify with what humility, and let the King my Lord ask him how my brethren have prepared to tend (him), and *Betilu* will send to his presence, oxen and beasts and fowls: his food and his drink will be provided. I shall give horses and beasts for his journey; and may the King my Lord hear my messages, with my assurances in the presence of the King my Lord. *Khani* will march much cared for in my sight, he accompanies me as my comrade, like my father; and lo! my Lord says, "You turn away from the appearance of *Khani*." Thus thy Gods and the Sun God truly had known if I did not stay in the city of *Tunip*. Moreover because of the intention to set in order the city of *Simyra*, the King my Lord has sent word (and) the Kings of the land of *Marhasse* (*Mer'ash*) have been foes to me. They have marched on my cities: they have observed the desire of *Khatib*,² and has not he promised them? lo! hastily he has promised them. And truly my Lord has known that half of the possessions that the King my Lord has given *Khatib* takes:

¹ An Egyptian name; perhaps to be compared with *han*, 'kind,' in Egyptian. An envoy of this name was sent to Dusratta, King of Armenia, by Amenophis III., as an 'interpreter' (21 B.).

² Perhaps the Hittite King of Kadesh, or some other city.

the tribute, and the gold and the silver that the King my Lord has given me; and *Khatib* takes all the tribute; and truly my Lord has known. Moreover as against my Lord the King's having said "Why dost thou yield service to the messenger of the King of the land of the *Hittites*, and dost not yield service to my messenger?"—this region is the land of my Lord, he establishes me in it, with men of government. Let a messenger of my Lord come, and all that I speak of in the sight of my Lord let me give. Tin and ships, men¹ and weapons, and trees let me give.'

40 B.—'To *Dudu*² my Lord my father thus (says) *Aziru* your son your servant: at the feet of my father I bow. Lo! let *Dudu* send the wishes of my Lord and I Moreover behold thou shalt not reject (me) my father, and whatever are the wishes of *Dudu* my father, send, and will not I Behold thou art my father and my Lord: I am thy son: the land of the Amorites is your land; and my house is your house.³ Say what you wish and I will truly perform your wishes.' The latter part is broken, but states that he will not rebel against the wishes of the king or those of *Dudu*.

38 B.—'To *Dudu* my lord my father thus *Aziru*

¹ Or perhaps 'oil.'

² Dodo in the Bible (1 Chron. xi. 12), from the same root as 'David.' He was not really *Aziru*'s father, but apparently a friend in Egypt.

³ *Beiti beita* is still a polite phrase of welcome in Palestine.

thy servant. At my Lord's feet I bow. *Khatib* will march, and has carefully followed the messages (or orders) of the King my Lord before (he goes); and what is good increases; and I have been gladdened very much; and my brethren, men serving the King my Lord, and men who are servants of *Dudu* my Lord. They had feared exceedingly. Behold he will march, to command for the King my Lord with me. From the orders of my Lord my God and my Sun, and from the orders of *Dudu* my Lord, I will never depart. My Lord now *Khatib* goes forth with me, and also he will march to strengthen me. My Lord, the King of the land of the *Hittites* will march from the land of *Marhasse* (*Mer'ash*), and has he not boasted to meet me? and the King of the *Hittites* will rebel, and behold I and *Khatib* will march. Let the King my Lord hear my messages. I have feared without the countenance of the King my Lord, and without the countenance of *Dudu*; and now (my Gods and my messenger¹) And truly these are my brethren—*Dudu* and the great men of the King my Lord; and truly I will march; and since O *Dudu* both the King my Lord and the chiefs thus are ready, everything against *Aziru* is forgiven which has been unfavourable for my God,² and for us. And now I and *Khatib* have appeared servants of the King. Truly thou knowest *Dudu*, behold I go forth mightily.'

¹ The text is clear, but the epigram is not. He appears to mean the King of Egypt when speaking of his Gods, as also a few lines lower.

² Meaning the King of Egypt.

MAP OF SYRIA.

AMORITE WAR.



31 B.—‘To *Khai*¹ my brother thus (says) this thy brother *Aziru*. With thee (be) peace indeed, and from the Egyptian soldiers of the King my Lord there is much safety. Whoever (is) against it the promise remains, in sight of the King my Lord; being formerly promised it remains. I and my sons and my brethren are all servants of the King: it is good for me. Now I and *Khatib* will both march behold with speed. O *Khai*, as amongst you truly it is known, lo! I have been troubled. From the orders of my Lord there is no rebellion, nor from your orders. I am a servant of my Lord. The King of the land of the *Hittites* dwells in the land of *Marhasse* (*Mer’ash*) and I have feared his appearance. They who are in the West lands² have armed. He gathers; and while the city of *Tunip* is unoccupied, he dwells two swift marches from the city. And I have been afraid of his appearance; and contrary to messages of promise he goes forth to his rebellions. But now we shall both march, I and *Khatib*, with speed.’

32 B. repeats the preceding—perhaps to another correspondent: it mentions *Dudu*, and says: ‘I have been afraid of this rebel son of a dog, and I

¹ *Khai* is also an Egyptian name, meaning ‘distinguished’ in that language. He is perhaps the *Khaia* of another letter by Ribadda (57 B.). It would seem that his embassy to *Aziru* had occurred between the first and second visits of the envoy *Khanni*.

² *Mer’ash* was in the west of the Hittite country, 75 miles north-west of *Tunep*. The distance fits well, since $37\frac{1}{2}$ miles may be considered a forced march.

have been troubled. Now he has sent a message from the Western land—the land of my Lord: they will both march together, and I have been afraid for my Lord's land.'

33 B., much broken at the top, refers to the existing promise or treaty, and continues: 'I cause the land of my Lord to be guarded, and my countenance is towards the men who are servants of the King my Lord in peace. My Lord now I and *Khatib* are made friends,¹ and let my Lord know behold I have in haste. The King of the land of the *Hittites* dwells and I have been afraid have armed . . . of the land my Lord I remain quietly in the West land King my Lord to defend his land . . . and now behold in the land of *Marhasse* he dwells—two swift marches from the city of *Tunip*; and I fear his wastings. Let the city of *Tunip* be defended: my Lord is a shield to men who serve him; mayst thou hear what is said and my sons will for ever.' . . .

39 B.—Broken at the top. 'I have strengthened this I have strengthened this wall in front of the mouth of the great pass,² and my Lord's fortress. And let my Lord hear as to the servants of his servant—thy servant *Aziru*: they

¹ We cannot rely on *Aziru*'s protestations. If *Khatib* was a Hittite King, it is certain that both were intriguing against Egypt.

² Probably the pass in the valley of the 'Afrîn River, near Kyrrhus, twenty miles north of *Tunip*, is meant, being on the direct road to Mer'ash.

will keep watch : strife surrounds us : I trust there will be an expedition ; and let us watch the lands of the King our Lord. Moreover to *Dudu* my Lord. Hear the messages of the King of the Land of *Marhasse* to me. They said : "Your father¹ what gold has this King of Egypt given him, and what has his Lord promised him out of the Land of Egypt ; and all the lands, and all the soldier slaves they have fought against ?" (thus) they said. to *Aziru* out of the Land of Egypt, and behold the slaves come round from the Land of . . . *Ni*² : they have rebelled ; and I repeat that thirty chiefs push on against me land of Egypt he remains . . . my Lord to *Aziru* soldiers *Marhasse*.'

34 B.—'To the King my Lord my God my Sun thus (says) this *Aziru* thy servant : seven times and seven times at the feet of my Lord I bow. Now what you wish is desirable. Sun God my Lord I am thy servant for ever ; and my sons serve thee. . . . Now two men I have commanded as envoys what he says . . . and let him rule in the land of the Amorites.'

34a B.—The salutation of the usual type is here injured. The letter continues : 'My Lord my God my Sun, I am thy servant and my sons and my brethren, to serve the King my Lord for ever. Now

¹ *Abuca*, 'your father,' might be understood in the sense in which it is used every day in the East, where *abûc* means, 'God curse your father !'

² *Ni* was to the east of *Aziru*'s country near Tunip.

all my Lord's wishes, and what he causes to be despatched, duly the King my Lord having despatched. Now eight chiefs who are great, and many (decrees?) we all of which from . . . the King my Lord . . . And the Kings of the Land of *Marhasse* will follow with and are these not promised (or leagued) to the city *Simyra* this thirty years? I turn me to the city *Simyra*. My Lord I am thy servant for ever, and a King of men who are friends; will not my (agents?) . . . my Lord (wilt not thou hear?) And the King is my Lord my God and my Sun: let him send his messenger with my messenger, and let them go up who serve the King.'

36 B.—'To the King thus *Aziru*: seven times and seven times at of my God and Sun. Behold truly thou hast known this, O King my Lord; behold I am thy servant for ever; from my Lord's commands I never rebel: my Lord from of old (it has been) thus. I am kind to the men who are servants of my King; but the chiefs of the city *Simyra* have not kept faith righteously with us; and behold neither one nor all is with us: my Lord the King did not you cause to be asked? The King my Lord has known that the chiefs are sinful; and why ask, "What does he contend for?" I say nay.'

From these letters by *Aziru*, we must conclude either that he was a great liar, or that he was induced to change sides later. The other correspondents seem to have believed that he had long

deceived the King of Egypt; but, in the end, his invasion of Phœnicia—perhaps cloaked by pretences of hostility to the Hittite league—caused him, as we shall see, to be proclaimed a rebel. The quarrel with Simyra may have been due to his being pushed south, out of his dominions, but is here said to be due to a Phœnician league with his foes. It does not appear who Khatib was. Perhaps the name was Hittite,¹ and he may have been the prince of Hamath or of Emesa. The following letter from Aziru's father, Abdasherah, belongs to a later period of the war, when Ullaza and all the cities north of Gebal had been conquered by the Amorites. It is couched in the same insidious language; and the letters of Ribadda, which follow, show that Amenophis was not open to conviction for a long time, though warned by his true friends. The proclamation is still later, after the attack on Sidon, and may fitly conclude the Amorite correspondence.

97 B.—‘To the King my Sun my Lord thus *Abdasratu*² thy servant, the dust of thy feet. At the feet of the King my Lord seven times and seven times I bow. Behold I am the King's servant, and

¹ *Khat-ib* may mean ‘Hittite hero.’ The name of the Hittites means probably ‘the confederates’; and the sign used on Hittite monuments for the nation seems to be that which represents two allies facing each other.

² Abdasherah, as Dr. Sayce points out, means the servant of the goddess Asherah (‘the grove’ of the Bible), and this is rendered certain by the sign for deity prefixed in one instance. It has no connection with the name of Ashtoreth.

a dog who is his neighbour (or his "friend" ?); and all the land of the Amorites is his. I often said to *Pakhanati*¹ my *Paka* (Egyptian resident), "Let him gather soldiers to defend the people of this King." Now all (cursed ?) as King, the King of the Phœnician (*Kharri*) soldiers *Kharri*: the King shall ask if I do not guard the city of *Simyra* (and) the city *Ullaza*. Lo! my *Paka* is in her: I proclaim the Sun-King; and I have (given orders?) to obey. The city *Simyra* is a neighbour,² and all the lands are the King's—my Sun, my Lord; I watch for him: and I know that the King my Lord is very glorious; and *Pakhanati* my *Paka* is established to judge therein.'

Copy of a Proclamation against Aziru, sent to Egypt by Khanni, when sent again to Syria.

92 B.—'To the Chief of the Amorite city by letter thus (says) your Lord. A chief of the city of *Gebal* has said thus in his petition: "Send him away from my gate (he says) he is robbing me and disputes with me in my chief city."³ And I have heard this and much besides which they have said to me as I now speak to say.

¹ An Egyptian name, *Pa-Khemt* or *Pa-Khent*, meaning 'very strong' (see B. M. 24, *Pakhamnata*). It appears from Ribadda's letter that the station of this *Paka* was *Simyra*, and apparently the Amorites killed him later on.

² The word *Gur* is used in these letters as in the Bible, and, like the Arab *Jâr*, to mean a man of one tribe or race protected by a powerful tribe or person of another country.

³ In each case 'gate' might be rendered 'port,' as both of the cities had famous ports.

‘Thou hast sent to the King thy Lord (saying thus), “I am thy servant as all former guardians¹ who have been in this his city.” And you do well to say thus. (But) I hear so to say a ruler of ours whose petition (is), “Send him away from my gate (he is) out of his city.” And in the city *Zituna* (Sidon) he abides, and has subjected himself among chiefs who are governors; and, though certainly knowing what is said, thou dost not confess the persecution of these chiefs. If thou art, as is assured, a servant of the King, how is his cutting off lawful in the sight of the King your Lord? Thus this ruler beseeches me, “Let a suppliant be protected, for he is disputing my chief city with me.” And if you do as is asserted, and not according to all the messages that I send against these things, you are hindering the King traitorously. So will be understood all that has been said.

‘And now a certain Chief hears of a gathering with the Chief of the city of *Ciidsa* (Kadesh on Orontes, the capital of the southern Hittites); devising hostilities, ready to fight, you have made alliance. And if so, why dost thou so? Why should a chief foregather with a chief save that he is on his side? But if you cause what is assured to be done, and you respect the orders to yourself and to him, I say nothing more as to the

¹ The word *Khazanu*, commonly used in these letters for a ruling class, apparently native, and in communication with the *Paka*, or ‘head man,’ who was Egyptian, appears to come from a root which means ‘to treasure.’ The word *Khazanutu* appears to mean ‘a government.’

messages you formerly made (and) as to what was pretended by you in them. But thou art not on the side of the King thy Lord.'

'Lo! this is the message, that their fortress burns in flames through (your burning?) and thou ragest against everything grievously. But if thou dost service to the King thy Lord, what is it that I will not do interceding with the King? If then thou ragest against everything, I make God my witness; and if you persist, God is my witness, that messages of war (will be) in your midst, and by the might of the King thou diest, and as many as are with thee.

'But do service to the King thy Lord and live. And thou thyself knowest that the King does not deem needful a subjection of the land of Canaan.¹ So he is wroth. And as I sent, truly was commanded me of the King my Lord this year and not in another year. My son (this) contumacy in the sight of the King thy Lord is vain.

'And now the King thy Lord is anxious as to thee this year. If it is difficult for thee to come, then send thy son. And thou beholdest a King at whose commands many lands tremble: and dost not thou (fear?): thus truly is ordered this year concerning us; failing to go to the presence of the King thy Lord, send thy son to the King thy Lord as a hostage, and let him not delay at all.

¹ Canaan in these letters, as on the Phœnician coins and in the Bible, is used in its strict sense as a geographical term for the 'lowlands' of Phœnicia and Philistia.

‘And now the King thy Lord hears, for I send to the King. Thus truly has the King commanded me—Khanni—a second time a messenger of the King. Truly it is to fetch to his hands men who are the foes of his house. Behold now I have been sent, as they are troublous; and moreover thou shalt bind them, and shalt not leave one among them. Now I am desired by the King thy Lord to name the men who are foes of the King in the letter from Khanni the King’s messenger; and once more I am obeying the King thy Lord; and thou shalt not leave one among them. A chain of bronze exceeding heavy shall shackle their feet. Behold the men thou shalt fetch to the King thy Lord. *Sarru* with all his sons; *Tuia*; *Lieia* with all his sons: *Pisyari*¹ with all his sons: the son in law of *Mania* with all his sons, with his wives, the women of his household: the chief of *Pabaha*,² whose wickedness is abhorred, who made the trumpet to be blown: *Dasarti*: *Paluma*: *Numahe*—a fugitive in the land of the Amorites.

‘And knowest thou not that the glory of the King is as the Sun in heaven; his soldiers and his chariots are many. From the shore lands to the land of

¹ *Pisyari* appears to be a Hittite name, like the *Pisiris* of an Assyrian inscription (Schrader), being the Mongol *bisir*, ‘rich,’ with the indefinite nominative in *-s*, which marks the Hittite as a non-Semitic tongue. The other names are also apparently non-Semitic, and may refer to Hittites.

² *Pabahaa* is perhaps the *Papaa*, conquered by Thothmes III. (Karnak List, No. 296), which was somewhere in North Syria, not far from Tunip. The wickedness of this chief is said to have caused the war.

Gutium,¹ from the rising of the Sun to the going down of the same, there is much salutation.'

The attack on Sidon was thus apparently the fact which opened the eyes of Amenophis. It appears to have preceded the final success, when the wealthy city of Gebal was taken by Aziru.

¹ Gutium, mentioned in Assyrian texts, was a country on the north-east, near the Caucasus. It has been compared with the word *Goin*, for 'Gentiles,' in Hebrew. Perhaps *Jebel Judi* (Ararat) is intended, being Dusratta's country allied to Egypt.

IV.

THE WAR IN PHŒNICIA.

Letters from Cities near Gebal.

42 B. M.—‘This letter is the letter of the city *Irkata*¹ to the King. O our Lord, thus (says) the city of *Irkata*, and her men her (flock? or lords?). At the feet of the King our Lord seven times seven times they bow. To the King our Lord thus (saith) the city of *Irkata*. Knowing the heart of the King our Lord we have guarded the city of *Irkata* for him. . . . Behold the King our Lord orders *Abbikha* . . . he speaks to us thus, O King . . . to guard it. The city of *Irkata* answers . . . the man ruling for the King. . . . “It is well. Let us save . . . the city of *Irkata*. It is well to save (a city?) faithful to the King.” . . . Behold many fight . . . the people . . . are frightened. . . . Thirty horses and chariots enter the city of *Irkata*. Lo! has arrived . . . a letter of the King’ as to arriving

¹ Probably ‘Arkah, a well-known Phœnician city north of Tripoli, but south of Simyra (Gen. x. 17). Aziru killed its king (91 B.).

. . . . thy land they reach. The men of the city (belonging) to the King have made to fight with us for the King our Lord. You send your chief to us that he may be our protector. Let the King our Lord hear the message of these his servants, and appoint us provision for his servant, and thou shalt exult over our foes and thou shalt prevail. The message of command of the King thou shalt not deny us. Our destroyer was troubled at the coming of the King's order to us. Mightily he has fought against us, exceeding much.'

128 B.—'To *Yankhamu* by letter thus (says) *Yapaaddu*.¹ Why is it spoken? Lo! from the city of *Simyra* a destruction by *Aziru* of all the lands, in length from the city of *Gebal* to the city *Ugariti*;² and the destruction of this the city *Sigata*,³ and of the city *Ambi*.⁴ Behold . . the slave has (broken?) the ships in the city *Ambi* and in the city *Sigata*, and in all which dispute for the lands with the city of *Simyra*: and shall we not arise

¹ *Yapaaddu* ('Adonis is beautiful') is often mentioned again. He (see 61 B.) fell into the hands of *Aziru*, and seems to have been a king of one of the cities near *Simyra*, apparently *Sigata*. This letter was probably written about the time of the siege of Tyre, at a late period in the war.

² *Ugariti* is mentioned in a letter from Tyre (B. M. 30) in a connection which shows that it was the present *Akrith*, between Tyre and *Accho*.

³ *Sigata* appears to be *Shakkah*, north of the great pass of *Shakkah* (*Theouprosopon*), where the King of *Gebal* was defeated by *Aziru*.

⁴ *Ambi* is now '*Aba*, immediately east of *Shakkah*.

to enter the city *Simyra*,¹ or what shall we ourselves do? But send this news to your great city (or palace).² It is regretted that the . . . is unfortunate.'

44 B. M.—This letter seems to be an appeal by the cities of Phœnicia on behalf of Ribadda, the brave King of Gebal, during the time of his resistance to Aziru, which failed because no help was given to him from Egypt, where Aziru was still thought faithful. The spokesman Khaia is perhaps the same Egyptian mentioned in Aziru's letters.

'Thus (saith) our confederacy to the King and the men of *Sidon* and the men of *Beruta* (*Beirût*). Whose are these cities—are not they the King's? Place a chief one chief in the midst of the city, and shall not he judge the ships of the land of the *Amorites*? and to slay *Abdasherah* the King shall set him up against them. Does not the King mourn for three cities and the ships of the men of *Misi*?³ and you march not to the land of the *Amorites*, and *Abdasherah* has gone forth to war; and judge for thine own self, and hear the message of thy faithful servant. Moreover who has fought as a son for the King—is it not *Khaia*? Will you gather us ships of the men of *Misi* for the land of the *Amorites*

¹ *Simyra* was on the low hills above the sea plains, by the river Eleutherus.

² The last words explain how the letter got to Egypt.

³ These ships of the men of *Misi* are mentioned by Ribadda as failing in an attempt to assist him. We may perhaps understand Egyptian ships, and compare the Egyptian name *Mesti* applied to part of the Delta.

and to slay *Abdasherah*? Lo! there is no message as to them and no memorial: they have shut the road—they have closed the way. In order to give passage to the land of *Mitana*¹ he has left the fleet which he has built. Was not this a plot against me of the men of *Arāda*?² But if behold they are with you, seize the ships of the men of the city of *Arāda* which they have made in the land of Egypt. Again behold *Khaiya* laments . . . for you do not . . . and as for us we by the land of the *Amorites*.’

45 B. M.—A broken letter with passages of interest as follows:

‘Moreover now this city of *Gula*³ is afflicted. The region behold of the city of *Gula* is for the King my Lord. Cannot you do what we desire? But he has done as his heart (desired) with all the lands of the King. Behold this sin which *Aziru* with the King; (he has slain) the King of the Land of *Ammiya*⁴ and (the King of *Ar*)*data*: and the King of the Land of *Ni* . . . (has slain?) a *Paka*

¹ From Dusratta’s great Hittite letter (27 B.) it appears that the King of the Minyans, whose country was called Mitani, west of Lake Van, in Armenia, claimed to be King of all the Hittites; and this is what appears to be here intended. In other letters he is mentioned among the invaders.

² *Arāda*, a city mentioned again as assisting *Aziru* with ships, appears to be Aradus, the Arvad of the Bible, now *Er Rûad*, the island town north of Simyra.

³ *Gula* is perhaps the town of *Jûneh*, north of Beirût, on the way to Gebal.

⁴ *Ammiya* is *Amyun*, north of Gebal, and *Ardatta* is *Ardi* near the preceding.

(‘chief’) of the King my Lord and the King knows his faithful servant, and he has despatched a garrison from his city, thirty men and fifty chariots, to the city of *Gebal*. I have been right. He had turned, O King, his heart from everything that *Aziru* orders him. For everything that he orders, the messages are unanswered. But every governor of the King he has ordered to be slain. I am forgotten. Behold *Aziru* has cursed the King my Lord.’

158 B.—The greater part of this letter is too broken to read, but refers to Abdasherah, and appears to be written to Yankhamu. The city of *Simyra* is mentioned, and the city *Arpad*,¹ and the palace or fortress of the former, with certain men therein. The soldiers of a city *Sekhlali* are also noticed, but it is not clear where this place is to be sought.

Ribadda's Letters from Gebal.

47 B.—‘*Ribadda*² of the city of *Gebal*³ (Gubla) to his Lord, the King of many lands, the prosperous

¹ Arpad is the city close to Tennib, which is mentioned in the Bible in several passages (2 Kings xvii. 34; xix. 13; Isa. x. 9; Jer. xlix. 23, etc.), now *Tell Erfûd*. It is remarkable that Aleppo is not mentioned in this correspondence, for it is referred to in Egyptian texts.

² *Ribadda* (as the name is spelt in some of the letters in syllables) may mean ‘child of Adonis.’ Compare the Chaldee *Ribah* for ‘girl,’ in the feminine. That Adda was Adonis seems to be derivable from the name Adoram (2 Sam. xx. 20), otherwise Adoniram (1 Kings iv. 6).

³ Gebal, now *Jubeil*, was apparently the chief city of Phœnicia. Its goddess Baalath is mentioned in the famous

King. Baalath of Gebal she hath given power to the King my Lord. At the feet of the King my Lord my Sun seven times seven times I bow. Behold this it will grieve me . . . our city my foes the chief watches O King no men of garrison were given to the King's chiefs, or preservation by the King against him, and this I (say) is not defended, and the King has not preserved me; and being angry *Pakhura* has gathered and has despatched men of the land *Umuti*¹ (Hamath). They have slain a chief servant; and three chiefs (he has bound?) without appeal to the land of Egypt; and he has made gifts seducing the city against me; and woe to the place, she has become ungrateful: the city which was not base in old times is base to us. But the King shall hear the message of his servant and you shall give orders to the chiefs. Do not you . . . this sin they do? my destruction is before me, and is it not my order that chiefs in the sight of the King should my destruction. Behold now since I shall gather to and (perchance I shall repel this?).'

46 B.—The salutation, as in the preceding letter, is peculiar to Ribadda. 'Lo! the King is sending to me *Irimaia*²: maybe, he will arrive to gladden

inscription of Yehumelec (about 800 B.C.), found in the ruins of Gebal. She is also mentioned in the 'Travels of an Egyptian' (Chabas, p. 312).

¹ Hamath was half-way from Aziru's country to that of Ribadda.

² A name very like Jeremiah.

us from before thee: he has not come before me. The King sends to me the most distinguished of thy great men, the chiefest of the city of the King that thou hast, who shall defend me . . . mighty before my foes Now they will make a government: the city they rule shall be smitten like as (is smitten?) a dog, and none that breathes shall be left behind him, for what they have done to us. I am laid waste (by foes?) by men of blood: thus on account of this slave there was no help from the King for me. (But?) my free men of the lands have fought for me. If the heart of the King is towards the guarding of his city, and of his servant, thou wilt order men to guard, and thou shalt defend the city, thou shalt guard my made prosperous.'

18 B. M.—The salutation as in the first letter (47 B.). 'Again behold thy faithful city of *Gebal*. *Abdasherah* was coming out against me aforetime and I sent to thy father who ordered soldiers of the King (*bitati*) to speed, and I went up over all his land. No allies marched to *Abdasherah*. But behold this: *Aziru* has chosen all the men of blood and has said to them "If the city of *Gebal* is not he has come, then *Yankhamu* is with thee, and if I am not obedient to his wishes. Thou art deceived *Abdasherah* has marched without stopping to but he has watched the city of the King his Lord obediently. So now as to *Paia* and is it not heard from the messages of *Kha*

their father, as he desires This *Khaib* gave to the city *Simyra*. Lo! I lament that the King is not able to do this (for) the *Paka* (general) when behold it has been asked. And *Bikhura* has not marched from the city *Cumidi* (Kamid). I have been friends with all the men of thy Government Lo whereas I was upright to the King and he makes no sign (to me ?) Despatch soldiers : thou shalt march with every Five thousand men and three thousand fifty chariots, a thousand the *bitati* soldiers, and cause (them) to take captive . . . the land.'

13 B. M.—The usual salutation, as given in the first letter. 'Does the King know? Behold *Aziru* has fought my chiefs, and has taken twelve of my chiefs, and has insisted on receiving at our expense fifty talents; and the chiefs whom I despatched to the city *Simyra* he has caused to be seized in the city. Both the city *Beruta* (Beirût) and the city *Ziduna* (Sidon) are sending ships to the city *Simyra*. All who are in the land of the *Amorites* have gathered themselves. I am to be attacked; and behold this: *Yapaaddu* has fought for me with *Aziru*, but afterwards behold he was entangled in the midst of the enemy when my ships were taken. And the King sees as to his city and his servant, and I need men to save the rebellion of this land if you will not come up to save from the hands of my enemies (or destroyers). Send me back a message, and know the deed that they have done. Now as they send to thee concerning the city *Simyra* he now marches. But (give?) me

soldiers for and these shall deliver her
they have tried but now.'

61 B.—The usual salutation precedes, here much broken. 'Does the King my Lord know? Lo! we know, that he has fought mightily. Lo! they tell of us in thy presence what the city *Simyra* has done to the King. Know O King boldly marching they have contrived to seize her—the sons of *Abdasherah*, and (there is) none who lives to carry the message to the King. But counsel now thy faithful servant. I say also the whole of the fortress they have destroyed . . . I sent to the King of advice as to the city *Simyra*. As a bird in the midst of the net she has remained. The siege of the usurpers is exceeding strong, and the messenger who from'

The letter is much broken. It refers to Yapaaddu and to his own faithfulness to the *Pakas* ('chiefs') of the King. He also appears to refer to the King destroying the Amorites, and goes on:

'The ruins perchance he will assign to his servant; and he has been constant and is upright against this thing—to subdue all the King's (provinces?). He has lost all the cities which this has befallen to and from the destruction against me none who them. The two or three that have held fast are turning round. But he hears his faithful servant's message, and a servant who has been constant in all labour, and his handmaid the city of *Gebal* (is) the only one that holds fast for me. The evils of this deed are equally thine, but I am broken in pieces. Henceforth *Aziru* is the

foe of *Yapaaddu*. They have marched; and (there is) news that they have been cruel in their ravages against me. They rest not: they desire the evil of all that are with me. So they have waxed strong, powerful against me (a servant) faithful to the King from of old Moreover behold I am a faithful servant: this evil is wrought me: behold this message: lo! I am the dust of the King's feet. Behold thy father did not wring did not smite the lands of his rulers (*Khazani*) and the Gods established him—the Sun God, the God and Baalath of Gebal. But the sons of *Abdasherah* have destroyed from us the throne of thy father's house, and to take the King's lands for themselves. They have joined the King of the land of *Mitana*, and the King of the land of *Casi*² and the King of the land of the *Hittites* the King will order soldiers (*pitati*). *Yankhamu* with the of my poor land The *Paka* of the city *Cumidi* and they have marched *Gebal* to a faithful servant.'

83 B.—A much broken fragment, referring to the taking of *Simyra*, appears to belong to this period.

¹ *Mitana*, the later *Matiene*. *Dusratta*, its king, claimed to rule the *Hittites*. The *Amorites* joined this league.

² The region called *Casi* in the inscription of *Usurtasen I.* (*Brugsch*, *Hist.*, i., p. 139) was in Upper Egypt, and the *Cush* of the Bible is apparently intended—a very vague term for the southern deserts from the *Euphrates* to *Nubia*. There were, however, *Cushites* also in *Babylonia*. In the present case the *Cassites* who lived on the *Euphrates*, east of the *Hittites*, and who were *Mongols*, are probably intended.

43 B.—‘*Ribadda* speaks to the King of many lands. At the feet (of my Lord) seven times and seven times I bow (a servant) for ever. Lo! the city of *Gebal* is his place—the Sun God revered by many lands. Lo! I am the footstool at the feet of the King my Lord, I am also his faithful servant. Now as to the city *Simyra* the sword of these fellows¹ has risen very strong against her and against me. And so now the destruction of the city of *Simyra* is at her gates. She has bowed down before them and they have conquered her power.

‘To what purpose have they sent here to *Ribadda* a letter (saying) thus “Peace to the palace from its brethren before *Simyra*.” Me! they have fought against me *for five years*, and thus they have sent to my Lord. As for me not (to be forgotten is?) *Yapahaddu* not to be forgotten is *Zimridi*.² All the fortresses they have ruined there was no cause of strife with the city of *Simyra*. . . .’ (The next passage is much damaged.) ‘And as said to what purpose have they sent a letter to *Ribadda*? In the sight of the King my Lord they have feigned to please me, they have pretended to please me, and

¹ Literally ‘boys.’ It seems often in these letters to be used as the word *wēled*, ‘a boy,’ is still used in Syria to mean ‘a fellow,’ applied often to very old men.

² This letter shows that the war lasted several years, over which the *Gebal* letters (written by three or four different scribes) extend; that the attack on Sidon preceded the taking of *Gebal*; and that *Ribadda* was not deceived by Amorite promises, knowing their co-operation with their Mongol allies of Armenia and the Hittite country.

now they proclaim peace. Truly thus behold it is with me. Let me learn the intention of my Lord, and will not he order *Yankhamu* with the *Paka*, *Yankhamu* joined beside the King my Lord, to lay waste? From before the chiefs of the *Hittite* chief men have fled and all the chiefs are afraid thereat. May it please my Lord also shall not he be (degraded?) who was thy commander of the horse with thy servant, to move the chiefs when we two went forth to the wars of the King my Lord, to occupy my cities which I name before my Lord. Know my Lord when they went forth with the ally he has left your soldiers fighting hard, and all have been slain.'

52 B.—The ordinary salutation. The letter is much damaged. It states that the land of *Mitana* had formerly fought against the King's enemies; that the sons of the dog *Abdasherah* destroy the cities and the corn, and attack the governors, and had demanded fifty talents. It appears that *Yankhamu* has arrived, and has known the chief whom the King had established. Apparently a written letter has been sent 'to the Amorite land for them to swallow.' He continues: 'Behold I am a faithful servant of the King, and there was none was like me a servant, before this man lied to the King of the Land of Egypt. But they have mastered the lands of our home.' They have slain Egyptians, he continues, and have done something (the verb is lost) to the temples of the Gods of *Gebal*; they have carried off a chief and shed his blood. He finally mentions his son *Khamu*.

25 B. M.—A short letter with the usual salutation. He requests soldiers to guard the lands for the rulers, which have been torn in pieces. The King sends no messages about himself to the writer or to *Yankhamu*. The governor's men have gathered to fight (for the *Khar* or Phœnicians?).

42 B.—Begins with the usual salutation given in the first letter. 'Having just heard the chiefs from the presence of the King it is fit that I send back a messenger (or message). Behold O Sun descending from heaven, the Sons of *Abdasherah* are wasting (shamefully?) as among them there is not one of the horses of the King or chariots, and the chiefs have devised evil—a rebellious race. And a chief is here with us of the Amorite country, with a written message from the allies which is with me. They have demanded what is shameful. Hereby is spoken a friendly message in the presence of the King—the Sun God. As for me I am thy faithful servant, and the news which is known, and which I hear, I send to the King my Lord. (What are they but dogs trembling?) in the presence of the Egyptian soldiers (*bitati*) of the King—the Sun God. I sent to your father and he "to my servant soldiers" . . . they have not marched *Abdasherah* the chiefs of this government their faces against him. So now they have joined But the *Misi* men (Egyptians) . . . have brought us, with speed, corn. . . . So now not without favour I have become a great man behold: strong and powerful in their sight we have been made.

But mighty and rebellious to the King is this power. (His land does not intend to help the land?) Behold I am despatching two men to the city of *Simyra*, and all the men of its chief have gathered in order to consult as to messages to the King, who will know why you hear from us your chiefs. Good is the letter they have brought us, and the letter which the messengers of the King have uttered to us.¹ Through the pretensions of this dog the King's heart has been grieved with men, and has been unrighteously set up, devising in their hearts and (your chief?) I go against the men of blood from the city *Simyra* . . . to keep and whatsoever I have been commanded. And let the King the news of his servant. I have despatched ten chiefs of the Land of *Nubia*² twenty chiefs of the land of Egypt as a guard to the King. Sun God and Lord thy servant is faithful to thee.'

73 B.—'To the King thus says *Ribadda* thy servant, the footstool of the feet of the Sun God my Lord. Seven times and seven times at his feet I bow. Grievous it is to say what, in the sight of the King, he has done—the dog *Abdasherah*. Behold what has befallen the lands of the King on account of him; and he cried peace to the land, and now behold what has befallen the city of *Simyra*—a station of my Lord, a fortress and they spoil

¹ The letter in question may have been the proclamation against Aziru given above.

² *Milukha*, or Meroe, in Assyrian inscriptions means, according to Dr. Brugsch, Nubia.

our fortress and the cries of the place
 a violent man and a dog.'

The next passage is too broken to read, but refers to the city of *Gebal*. The letter continues:

'Will not the King order his *Paka* to pronounce judgment? and let him guard the chief city of my Lord, and order me as I (say), and let my Lord the Sun set free the lands, and truly my lord shall order the wicked men all of them to go out. I present my memorial in the sight of my Lord, but this dog has not taken any of thy Gods. Prosperity has fled which abode in *Gebal*, which city of *Gebal* was as a city very friendly to the King. It is grievous. Behold I have associated *Abdhaal* the prefect with *Ben Khia* (or *Ben Tobia*) a man of (war?); but despatch thou him to thy servant.'

57 B.—The salutation as usual mentions Baalath of *Gebal*. 'Why shall the King my Lord send to me? The best indeed trembles, of those who watch for him against my foes, and of my freemen. What shall defend me if the King will not defend his servant? if the King will order for us chiefs of the Land of Egypt, and of the Land of *Nubia*, and horses, by the hand of this my chief as I hope, and preservation for the servants of the King my Lord. If none at all . . . to me . . . to march horses my land is miserable. By my soul's life! if the King cared at heart for the life of his servant, and of his chief city, he would have sent a garrison, and they had guarded thy city and thy servant. That the King shall know . . .

of our lands; and Egyptian soldiers (*bitati*) shall be ordered; and to save all that live in his land, therefore it is spoken as a message to the king (with thy messengers?) As to the of this dispute of *Khaia* with the city of *Simyra*, that they should send us without delay 13 talents (or pieces of gold): I gave the proclamation. The men of blood are named in the letter to the city of *Simyra*.¹ It avails not. Ask *Khaia* as to the letter of our previous dispute with the city of *Simyra*—to satisfy the King, and to give security to the King, they are sending again, and’

24 B. M.—This is broken at the top.

‘And King my Lord, soldiers are moving to the city of *Gebal*, and behold the city *Durubli*² has sent forth soldiers to war to the city *Simyra*. If the heart of the King my Lord is towards the city of *Durubli* my Lord will also order many soldiers, thirty chariots and an hundred chief men of your land; and you will halt at the city *Durubli*, my Lord’s city. If the lands are to be defended, the King will order the departure of Egyptian soldiers (*bitati*) to the city of *Gebal*, and (I doubt not?) you will march to us. And I to slay him, and behold the King my Lord

¹ This perhaps refers to Khanni’s proclamation already given, and to the Khai who had been sent at an earlier period to Aziru. The rebels are named in the proclamation of the later embassy, which we thus see to have had no effect. An envoy without a military force behind him usually fails.

² *Durubli* is probably the city which the Greeks called Tripoli, the largest town between *Simyra* and *Gebal*. There is a village called *Turbul*, on the north-east of Tripoli (*Trâblus*).

. . . . faithful; and they have warred with the men *Kau Paur*¹ (Egyptian magnates) of the King. Lo! they have slain *Biari* the *Paur* (magnate) of the King, and he has given gifts to my and they are helping. And none are servants of the King. And evil in our eyes behold is this. I am spoiled, and I fear lest no wish of the faithful chief be granted to him. Lo! you will make my kindred to be afflicted. The King shall arm the land . . . thy soldiers great and small, all of them; and *Pakhamnata*² did not listen to me and they do a deed that and thou shalt tell him this, that he shall set free the city of *Simyra*; and (the King) will listen to the message of his servant, and shall (send) Egyptian soldiers. Behold he will say to the King that the Egyptian soldiers have no corn or food to eat, all the enemies have cut off from the midst of the cities of the King my Lord the food and the corn and (I) have raised soldiers gathering (in) the city of *Gebal* there is not you shall send to us and to march to it, and I have stopped and not one of the lands of the *Canaanites* helps *Yankhamu*, though he is for the King.'

¹ *Kau Pa-ur*, Egyptian words in the plural. *Kau* signifies 'men,' and *Pa-ur* (as in the letter from Jerusalem, B. 103) means 'very important.'

² Probably the *Pakhanata* (97 B.) who was the *Paka*, or chief, of whom Abdasherah speaks in the letter about the town of Ullaza, near Gebal. He seems to have been the resident in Simyra (B. 80).

58 B.—This is a large and important tablet, but much broken; it begins with a short salutation, and then says at once, ‘I am laid low.’ It refers to the loss of the city *Abur*,¹ and mentions the names of *Aziru* and *Abdasherah*, and says there is no garrison. The enemy are marching on to the capital. He says: ‘I sent to the palace (or capital of Egypt) for soldiers and you gave me no soldiers.’ ‘They have burned the city *Abur*, and have made an end in the sight of *Khamu* my son.’ ‘The man of sin *Aziru* has marched . . . he has remained in the midst . . . I have despatched my son to the palace more than three months (ago) who has not appeared before the King. Thus (says) my chief of the city of *Takhida*²—they are reaching him: of what use are the fortifications to the men left therein?’ ‘The chief who came out of the lands of Egypt to inform, whom you announced us on account of *Aziru* formerly, I shall send to the King. You will not have heard this message as to the city *Abur*. The dogs are wasting, as is said, do you not mark the news? If the King had thought of his servant, and had given me soldiers’ The next passages are much damaged, but refer to the same general subject of complaint. The next intelligible sentence is: ‘The people have been enraged expecting that

¹ *Abur* is perhaps *Beit-Abura*, in the valley north of the great pass Theouprosoyon, between Gebal and Tripoli. The enemy had not as yet forced the pass.

² The second sign is doubtful, and the place does not suggest identification (see 60 B.).

the King my Lord would give me for my chief city corn for the food of the people of the strongholds.' He then protests his good faith, and says finally: 'And my sons are servants of the King, and our expectation is from the King. . . . The city is perishing, my Lord has pronounced our death'

77 B.—After a short salutation: 'Let the King hear the news of his faithful servant. It is ill with me: mightily fighting, the sons of *Abdasherah* have striven in the land of the *Amorites*. They had subdued all the land of the city of *Simyra*, and they have wrecked the city *Irkata* (Arkah) for its ruler. And now they are coming out of the city of *Simyra*, and it is ill for the ruler (who is) in face of the foes who come out.' The tablet is here broken, but refers to *Gebal*, and to the rulers *Zimridi* and *Yapaaddu*. The writer hopes for the arrival of troops. 'Egyptian soldiers; and the Sun King will protect me. Friendly men have been (shut up?) in the midst of his land. Moreover the King my Lord shall hear the message of his servant, and deliver the garrison of *Simyra* and of *Irkata*: for all the garrison have out of the city *Simyra* and Sun God Lord of the lands will order for me also twenty (companies?—*tapal*) of horse, and, as I trust, to the city of *Simyra* (to defend her) you will speed (a division?) instructing the garrisons to be strong and zealous, and to encourage the chiefs in the midst of the city. If also you grant us no Egyptian soldiers no city in the plains will be zealous for thee. But the chain of the Egyptian soldiers has quitted

all the lands — they have disappeared to the King.¹

14 B. M.—‘*Ribadda* speaks to his Lord the King of many lands the Great King. Baalath of Gebal has given power to the King my Lord: at the feet of my Lord, my Sun, seven times seven times I bow. Why wilt not thou utter for us a message to me? And (now) know the demand which my chief is despatched to make in presence of the King my Lord; and his division of horse has marched, but the man has delayed marching—its chief—as the letters to the King were not given to the hand of my chief as to what has been said of your land, is it not needful that the allies of the *Paka* should march to the men of blood; have not all the lands been grieved? It will be necessary for the allies, but they come not being slow. Moreover I sent for men of garrison and for horses, but you care not for us (even) to return us a message for me. And I am destroyed by *Abdasherah* like *Yapaaddu* and *Zimridi*—and they are fugitives. Moreover the revolt of the city of *Simyra* and of the city *Saarti*² continues against him. We remain under the hand of *Yankhamu*; and he gives us corn for my eating. We two guard the King’s city for him, and he collects for

¹ This agrees with the Jerusalem letters, as showing that the troops had been withdrawn to Egypt. Amenophis sent commissioners and summoned native levies, but does not appear to have been able to send Egyptian forces.

² The name *Saarti* perhaps survives in that of the *Sha’arah* district of Lebanon, immediately south of *Simyra*, and near *Yapaaddu*’s town of *Sigata* (*Shakkah*).

the King, and orders my chief, appointing chiefs to assist for me, fulfilling the decree which thou hast thyself appointed. We have trusted in the King. And two chiefs of the city have been despatched to be sent, having come down bound from the camp of *Yankhamu*. Moreover, as to this assistance to *Yankhamu*, *Ribadda* is in your hands, and all that is done for him (is) before you: it is not for me to punish thy soldiers. My superior is over me. And I will send to him if you do not speak about this, or he gives up the city, or I depart. Moreover, if you do not utter for us a message for me, both the city will be surrendered, and I shall go away with the men who support me. And learn that our corn also is failing, and *Milcuru* has measured the corn—measure of Baalath¹ very much’

89 B.—This is much broken. After the usual salutation he says that Abdasherah has fought strongly, and has seized cities belonging to Gebal; that news has reached the city as to what has befallen the city *Ammia* (*Amyun*) from the men of blood. A certain *Berber*² chief is mentioned. He speaks of ‘two months,’ apparently as the limit of time in which he expects to be aided by the *bitati*, or Egyptian soldiers. Abdasherah is marching on Gebal.

79 B.—Also broken. With the usual salutation, speaks of a great fight with the men of blood, who made an end of men, women, and soldiers of his

¹ In Assyria we find the ‘measure of Istar.’

² The Berbers are mentioned in Egyptian texts as inhabitants of Upper Egypt.

poor country. He sent men, and they were beaten. The city of *Irkata* (Arkah) is mentioned, and the King of the *Hittites*, who is making war on all the lands. The King of *Mitani* will be king of the weak (or false) land of the writer's people. He concludes by calling *Abdasherah* a dog.

44 B. — After the usual salutation, this letter appears perhaps to refer to the coming of Irimaia. 'Lo the King shall send the choicest of thy chiefs—a son of Memphis (*Nupi*) to guard the city.' The text is then much broken, referring to the palace and to cavalry, and to guarding the city for the king. He will fulfil the wishes of the *Pakas*, and is a faithful servant, as they would testify. The lands are to be made quiet again. 'I say as to myself, lo! my heart is not at all changed as to my intention to serve the King my lord. Now pronounce this judgment O Lord of justice. Cause all to be told that whoever crosses over from his own place the King my Lord will My Lord shall decide that this evil shall not go on. Who shall say anything against it? Now return a letter, and all my possessions that are with *Yapaddu* (he will make equally safe?) in the sight of the King.'

72 B.—'To *Khaia*¹ the *Pa* (an Egyptian title) thus says *Ribadda*. I bow at thy feet. The God *Amen* and the God *Sa* . . .² have given you power in the presence of the King. Behold thou art a man

¹ *Khaia*, now in Egypt, had no doubt already become known to *Ribadda* as an envoy.

² A God *Sausbe* is mentioned in Dusratta's Hittite letter.

of good the King knows, and through your zeal the King sends you for a *Paka*. Why is it asked and you will not speak to the King? that he should order for us Egyptian soldiers to go up to the place—the city *Simyra*. Who is *Abdasherah*?—a slave, a dog, and shall the King's land be smitten by him? Who set him up? And mighty with men of blood is the strength of his power. But send reinforcements: fifty *tapal* (companies?) of horse and two hundred foot soldiers; and both shall go forth from the city *Sigata*¹ (*Shakkah*). Know his intentions. Until the (*bitati*) Egyptian soldiers are sent he will not be mastered, (nor) any of the men of blood, and the city of *Sigata* and the city of *Ambi*² are both taken, and thus.'

17 B. M.—' *Ribadda* speaks to . . . (Amenophis IV.??³) the King of many Lands: at the feet of . . . my Sun God. And I repeat as to (the expedition?) against the city of *Kappa*⁴ and against the city *Amma* . . . cities faithful to the King my Lord. Who is this *Abdasherah*?—a slave, a dog, and shall he in the midst in the lands of my Lord? . . . the King

¹ *Sigata* (*Shakkah*) was just outside the great pass between *Batrûn* and *Tripoli*.

² *Ambi* (*'Aba*) was close to the last.

³ Only . . . *rari* is left, which Dr. Bezold thinks refers to Amenophis IV.; but it is doubtful if this letter can be placed so late.

⁴ *Kappa* is *Keffa*. The plain of *Keffa* is close to *Amyun*, north of the great pass of *Theouprosopon* (*Shakkah*). *Amyun* follows at once.

my Lord has asked as to his servant, and . . . I send my messenger. Lo . . . my cities, and with the letter . . . my messages. And now behold he is marching to the city *Batrûna*¹ and he will cut it off from my rule. They have seized the city of *Kalbi*²—the great pass of the city of *Gebal*. Truly the confederates are pushing on secretly from the great pass, and they have not made an end—mightily contumacious. For they have promised to take the city of *Gebal*. . . And let the King my Lord hear this day . . . they have hastened chariots and I trust and and the fate of the city of *Gebal* by them, and all the lands . . . as far as the land of Egypt have been filled with men of blood. My Lord has sent no news as to this decree as I hoped by letter. And we desire that the city be saved, and the villages of the city, from him, for my inhabiting. I have been hard pushed. Help speedily O King my Lord soldiers and chariots, and you will strengthen the chief city of the King my Lord. Behold the city of *Gebal*: there is not, as is said, of chief cities (like) the city *Gebal* a chief city with the King my Lord from of old. The messenger of the King of the city of *Acca*³ (*Accho*) honour thou with

¹ *Batrûna* is the well-known town *Batrûn*, the Botrys of classical writers, which lies south of the wild pass of Râs Shakkah, where apparently one of the battles of the war occurred (22 B. M.). When the pass was taken, *Batrûn* seems still to have held out with *Gebal*, being no doubt provisioned by sea.

² *Kalbi* is *Kelbata*, in the heart of the great pass. I visited all these places in 1881.

³ In this case the modern name *Akka* is nearer to the spelling

(my) messenger. And we have given cavalry at his pleasure . . . and a division of horse . . . because of pleasuring him.¹ '

60 B. — After salutation: 'The King my Lord shall know: behold *Benmabenat*² son of *Abdasherah* strives for the city *Gatza*.³ They have subdued the city of *Ardata*, the city *Yahlia*, the city *Ambi*, the city *Sigata*,⁴ all the cities are theirs; and the King shall order the cutting off of the city *Simyra*, so that the King may rule his land. Who is this *Abdasherah*?—a slave, a dog. O King it is thy land, and they have joined the King of the land of *Mitani*. But come to us to the King's land to . . . before the cities of your rulers are destroyed; and lo! this has been said . . . thy *Paka*, and not his cities to them. Now they have taken the city

of these letters than is the Hebrew. This is the case with Shiloh and other important towns, showing the Canaanite extraction of the modern peasantry in Palestine. The Hebrews hardly ever renamed towns, and the nomenclature preserves the ancient Canaanite forms found in the lists of Thothmes III. a century earlier than these letters. Many towns were named from Canaanite and Philistine Gods (*Shamash*, *Dagon*, etc.), and the forms of the names in the Karnak lists are Aramaic, and not Hebrew.

¹ *Patzil* I understand to be equivalent to the Arabic *Fadl*, meaning to do pleasure or honour to a person.

² The Amorite chief had more than one son, as is clear in some cases. *Benmabenat* (or *Bumabuat*) was *Aziru*'s brother.

³ Perhaps the name survives in that of the river *Kadisha*, near Tripoli.

⁴ *Ardata* (*Ardi*), *Ambi* (*'Aba*), and *Sigata* (*Shakkah*) were north of the pass: *Yahlia*, representing *I'al*, rather farther north than the others.

of *Ullaza*¹ for it is as has been said, until you shall march to this city of *Simyra*. And they have slain for us the *Paka* and the Egyptian (*bitati*) soldiers who (were) in the city of *Simyra* . . . they have done to us, and shall not I go up to the city of *Simyra*? The cities *Ambi*, *Sigata*, *Ullaza*, (*Caphar*?) *Yazu*² have fought for me. Their destruction for us by them, will be pleaded against the city of *Simyra*, these cities and the sons of *Abdasherah*
 Alas! and the city of Gebal demands of the men of blood as to the city *Tikhedi*.³ I marched; but there befell an entering-in to spoil by the men of blood.'

23 B. M.—The usual salutation is absent, and it seems to be written to an official: 'To as a letter thus *Ribadda*. I bow at thy feet. Baalath of Gebal the God of the King my Lord may (she?) strengthen thy power in the presence of the King thy lord—the Sun of the lands. You know behold that a (covenant?) has been engraved. But why was it sent? And lo! this thou shalt announce: I am left in fear that an end will be made of all. Thou shalt make the whole known. Behold it was sent to me. "Do not wait to go forth to the city *Simyra* till I come." Behold you know, the wars are exceeding mighty against me, but he comes not. I did march and lo! the city of *Ambi* (*'Aba*) has been

¹ *Ullaza* (*Kefr Khullis*) was close to *Batrûn*, on the south.

² *Caphar Yazu*, or *Alu-yazu*, seems to be *Kefr Yashit*, near the others.

³ Perhaps *Takheda* of another letter (58 B.).

burned by me. You know that the chief and the principal men of this city have gathered with *Abdasherah*, and behold I did not march further. Behold you know all that has been; and on this account . . . having asked my question of my prophet¹ behold I feared accordingly. Hear me speak—favourably as I trust (as to) coming; and you know that they strive with our country, who behold are men of good will. Because . . . your favour is strong do not you urge a message to this city, and out of its midst she sends to . . .’

86 B.—A much-broken letter, supposed to be from *Ribadda*, mentions *Batruna* and *Ambi*.² Towards the end it reads continuously: ‘The King of the land of the *Hittites* behold is . . . to the sons of *Abdasherah*, for he hastens to despatch soldiers of the royal and the neighbouring places have joined: the lands of the King my Lord are made a desert, which the dogs bring to nought: they have mourned. If *Neboyapiza* fears the King my Lord will he not march on them, if the King my Lord will speak to the great man of the chief city—to the

¹ See letter 71 B. The sign has the meaning ‘oracle,’ ‘prophet.’ No doubt *Ribadda* had his diviners, like the Kings of Assyria in later times.

² 53 B. is another short letter, much injured, which mentions *Batrûn*; and in this a town called *Sina* is apparently noticed, which, if the broken tablet can be so read, would be *Kēfr Zina*. In 54 B. a city *Zina* occurs, but seems to be a clerical error for *Sidon*. The land of *Mitana* is also mentioned in 53 B.

great man of the chief city of *Cumidi*¹ (*Kamid*)
to march to join to me’

41 B.—Begins with the usual salutation from *Ribadda*. ‘Behold I am a faithful servant of the Sun King, and I confess that my messages have been sad for the King, as you own. The King my Lord shall hear the messages of his faithful servant, and *Buri* is sending out in the direction of the city *Simyra*, and *Hadar* has marched against you, and they have beaten us, and they have brought us low. (These foes?) are destroying in my sight, and I was ready (to go out?) with the *Paka* to keep watch in the presence of the chiefs of the governments. And my Lord shall hear the news. Now *Aziru* the son of *Abdasherah* is marching with his brethren from² the city *Gebal*: and despatch Egyptian soldiers (*bitati*), and thou shalt march against him and smite him—the land is the King’s land; and since one has talked thus and you have not moved, the city of *Simyra* has been lost. The King my Lord shall hear the news of his faithful servant. There is no money to buy me horses, all is finished, we have been spoiled. Give me thirty (companies—*tapal*?) of horse with chariots men there is none of this with me not a horse’

¹ Neboyapiza had his own difficulties, as appears from his letters (96 B., 142 B., 43 B. M.).

² Zimridi of Sidon is mentioned as a fugitive, while Gebal still held out. *Aziru* marched from (*ina*) Gebal, no doubt, to attack the south. In later ages the shore cities often held out while invaders from the north marched on Egypt.

22 B. M.—‘To *Amanabba*¹ . . . as a letter, thus says this *Ribadda* thy servant. I bow at my Lord’s feet. The God *Amen* and *Baalath* of *Gebal* have established your power in the presence of the King my Lord. To what purpose is thy messenger with me to go to the King your Lord? And may I indeed expect horses and chariots to be ordered of thee? Will not you fortify the city? And this is heard by your message, and I am sincere, but the covenant is mocked and no soldiers are heard of with it. And they have routed the . . . The city of *Batrûna* (*Batrûn*) is his; and bloody soldiers and chariots have established themselves in the midst of the city, and I had lain in wait for them outside the great pass of the city of *Gebal*² to the King my Lord with thee the soldiers of the prefect chariots and here with’

45 B.—Begins with the usual salutation, and continues: ‘The King my Lord will be sad. Why will

¹ *Amanabba* was not really his father; it is a title of courtesy. His father was *Rabzabi* (81 B., 82 B.), and *Amanappa* is an Egyptian name. A certain captain *Amenemhib* has left an account of his services in North Syria, at Aleppo, Carchemish, Kadesh, and at *Ni*, where he hunted elephants; but this is supposed to have been a century earlier. The site of *Ni* is settled by these letters and by the Karnak lists as being in Mesopotamia, and there is a picture of an elephant among the Asiatic spoils of Thothmes III. It is very curious to find elephants so far west in Asia at this period.

² Probably ‘outside’ means north of the pass, and *Ribadda* made the serious military mistake of defending his pass from outside instead of inside.

you not send him to me? Behold I have no ruler over my fugitives. The city of *Simyra* they have (shut up?); all have turned on me: and two chiefs of the land of Egypt, who travelled from the palace, went not forth. No man has travelled to the King who might carry my letter to the palace. Now these two chiefs brought us letters for the King, and the two have not gone forth, as being now afraid, and (refusing?) to my face I send to the palace (or capital), and *Azru* (*Aziru*?) is laying snares, gathering soldiers: has not *Abdasherah* marched with whatever he had? As I am told they will send friendly messages to my Lord, but thou wilt say "Why do ye send friendly messages to me when you refuse my message?"¹

'I have been afraid of the snare. *Azaru* (is) like Lo! I am strong through the King The sons of *Abdasherah*—the slave dog—have pretended that the cities of the governments of the King are given to them—our cities. The fortress has not opened to *Aziru* . . . O King as to their cities are they not subject to them? From the city *Simyra*, to the city *Ullaza*, the city *Sapi*² . . . chariots land of Egypt from their hands for me. So now I am despatching this chief: he has left: do I not send to the King? Now the two chiefs of the land of Egypt, they whom you sent

¹ This would seem to have been about the time of the proclamation against *Aziru*, or rather earlier.

² *Sapi* is probably the famous fortress *Safita*, north-west of *Simyra*.

us remain with me, and have not gone out, since no soldiers are (intended for?) me, and . . . the lands for the men of blood. And since the King's heart altogether has forgotten my Egyptian soldiers (*bitati*) I send to *Yankhamu* and to *Biri*. They have taken those that were with the governors. Lo! may the land of the *Amorites* become (their) conquest. The corn which they have threshed for me has been stored up, a part of the whole with my . . . and one part with me; and the King will order we . . . all whatever breathes; (it is not right to shut them up?) for the King; he is not coming to him: the chief must help himself to what was ordered to be stored up for the King. The King shall order a memorial as to the innocence of his servant. And as to the produce of the city O King there is none at all with me; all is finished from being distributed for (my own subsistence?). But as to this chief, the King will order him as I trust, and will give us men of garrison for . . . to guard his faithful servant and his chief city, and the men of *Nubia* who are with us, as those who are your foes (exult?). Moreover behold (much to say?) Thinking this, I shall send to the palace for a garrison—men of *Nubia* . . . The King will . . . men of garrison . . . of the land of *Nubia* for its guarding, you will not . . . this city to the men of blood.'

51 B.—The ordinary salutation: the letter goes on in an eloquent strain: 'The storm (or a tumult) has burst forth. Let the King behold the city of *Simyra*.

Lo! the city of *Simyra* has remained as a bird caught in the snare: so her is left to the city of *Simyra*. The sons of *Abdasherah* by their devices, and the men of the city of *Arāda* (Arvad) by their hostility have made her wroth, and a fleet has sped in the sight of *Yankhamu* men of the city they have seized, and Lo! the men of the city *Arvad* searched for the coming forth of the Egyptian soldiers (*bitati*); *Abdasherah* is with them, has he not marched? and their ships are set against the reinforcements from the Land of Egypt. So now there is no navigation. Let them make haste. Now they have seized the city *Ullaza* (*Kefr Khullis*) and all whatsoever *Abdasherah* has to the chiefs. And lo! we and the ships of the men of *Misi* (the Delta?)¹ have been broken, with whatsoever was theirs. And as for me they went not up to fight for the mastery of the city of *Simyra*. *Yapaaddu* has fought on my side, against whosoever was not faithful (or constant). They have trodden me down . . . So now in sight of *Zabandi*² and of *Ibikhaza* also, I have (joined?) myself to *Yankhamu*; and you will know their (good opinion?) of my faithfulness: as to what he thinks of my zeal make him confess, so he will (make it known?). He has fought for me and lo! they are wasting the city *Ullaza* (to make an end thereof?).'

¹ The reinforcements were expected by sea, no doubt in the ships of the *Misi*, or Delta men, the soldiers being Nubians from near Tell Amarna, which was 180 miles south of Memphis.

² Or Zabanba. Perhaps this is the *Subandi* who writes letters from an unknown town.

The back of this long letter is unfortunately quite destroyed. The final sentences are on the edge, the tablet being of considerable thickness :

‘I have desired peace (like?) a faithful servant of the King. The men of Egypt, expelled from this city of our neighbour, are with me ; and there is no . . . for them to eat. *Yapaaddu* has not granted my servants this this poor country ; but we have been swift to help the city *Simyra*. . . . they have gone up to fight the ships (of the city) of *Arāda* (Arvad) (it was grievous?) *Kiib*’

55 B.—A much-broken letter appears to refer to a message from the King being seized, and that three hundred men poured out and burned a city. It speaks of a *Paka* and of Egyptian soldiers, and of the city *Beruti* (*Beirūt*) and of *Abdasherah*’s forces.

16 B. M.—‘To the King my Lord thus says *Ribadda* thy servant, the dust of thy feet. I bow seven times and seven times at the feet of my Lord. And will not my Lord hear the message of thy servant? Men of the city of *Gebal*, and my family ; and a wife whom I loved, they have taken away after the son of *Abdasherah* ; and we have made a gathering ; we have searched ; and I cannot hear a word spoken about them. I am sending to the King my Lord, and once more, despatch thou men of garrison, men of war, for thy servant ; and will you not defend the city of the King my Lord? But news has not arrived from the King my Lord for his servant. But he will be generous ; he will remember

me; and the advice (I speak) comes from my heart. The region near (us) *Ammunira*¹ has traversed throughout, and I went to him, for he gave assistance. And I myself searched for my family, but it has been made to vanish from my sight; and the King my Lord shall counsel his servant. Lo! the ally is zealous; and he has decreed a gathering of the Egyptian soldiers (*bitati*) of the King my Lord; and the King my Lord will counsel his servant. If there is no wish to be kind on the part of the King my Lord, I myself am helpless; and the King has no servants. Moreover, my son and my wife have been subjected to a man who sins against the King.²

15 B. M.—‘To *Amanabba* my father, thus *Ribadda* thy son. I bow at my father’s feet. Baalath of the city *Gebal* strengthens your favour in the sight of the King your Lord. Why has it been asked, and no complaint (is made) to the King? and you hesitate about the Egyptian soldiers (*bitati*), and you are brought low before the land of the *Amorites*. If you had heard of us (that) the Egyptian soldiers (are) strong, and that they have deserted their towns, and gone away, you know not the land of the *Amorites*. Behold they have taken these places from us, and I am ill at ease. Behold now do not they support *Abdasherah*? behold they have deceived us about them, and you promise us, day and night to send

¹ King of Beirût (B. M. 26, 27).

² This translation is confirmed by the independent letter of Ribadda’s friend Ammunira (B. M. 26).

the Egyptian soldiers, and we are made sad about it, and all the chiefs of the Government. Thou shalt promise us to do this thing to *Abdasherah*: lo! he sends to the chiefs of the city of *Amniya* (*Amyūn*) to slay him who was established as Lord, and they submitted to the men of blood. So now thou shalt say for us—the Chiefs of the Government; so now they are doing to us, and thou shalt announce to him (that) all the lands are for men of blood, and speak thou this message in the presence of the King thy Lord. Lo! a father and a lord this thou art to me; and as for thee my face I bend, you know, to my master: behold what is done in the city of *Simyra*, lo! I am . . . with thee. But complain to the King thy Lord, and you will send . . . to me as I trust.'

2c B. M.—' *Ribadda* sends to his Lord the Great King, the King of many lands to the prosperous king. Baalath of Gebal has confirmed the power of the King my Lord. At the feet of my Lord the Sun seven times seven times he bows him. A petition has been made long ago, made for the city of *Gebal*, to despatch *Bikuru* (to the) chiefs of the Land of *Egada*¹ served me, which I . . . three

¹ *Egada* is no doubt the land of *Ikatai* mentioned in the 'Travels of an Egyptian' (Chabas, p. 312); it there occurs with Aleppo and the country of the Hittites. In the letter of the Hittite prince of Rezech (north of Palmyra) we hear of his country as *Egait* (B. 10). Rezech was not far south of Tiphseh on the Euphrates, and south-east of Aleppo. *Bikhuru* is, how;

of the chiefs they strove the Land of Egypt . . . and then the King my Lord a sin against

‘If the King my Lord supports his faithful servant; and despatch thou . . . this her chief (speedily?); and we two watch the city for the King. The King shall send the choicest of thy great men, from among those who guard him. The three chiefs whom *Bikhuru* strove to despatch, but who have fled, (are) *Abdirama*, *Iddinaddu*, *Abdmelec*, these are sons of *Abdasherah*;¹ and they have taken the King’s land for themselves. He shall send the *bitati*.’

21 B. M.—‘To *Amanabba* . . . (by letter) thus (says) this *Ribadda* thy servant. I bow (at my Lord’s feet). The god *Amen* of thy Lord, builds up thy favour (with) the King thy Lord. Hear (they have fought) mightily, and over the Egyptian soldiers are victorious, and to the Land of the *Amorites*.’ The letter becomes too broken to read consecutively, but refers to the Land of *Mitana*, and apparently to a defeat of *Yankhamu*. He asks for corn, and speaks of having nothing to eat, in con-

ever, mentioned (18 B. M.) in connection with the town of Cumidi.

¹ I misread this name at first. The Amorite chief seems to have had five sons, including *Aziru* and (p. 68) *Benmabinat* (or *Bumabula*).

nection with the city of *Gebal*; and refers to three years of (dearth?), and to the corn failing.

19 B. M.—After the usual salutation to the King, this letter reads: ‘The King my Lord will say that the choicest of thy great men, and the choicest of thy city that thou hast are among those who guard us. My great men and (those of?) the city, were formerly men of garrison with me; and the King asked of us corn for them to eat, from my poor country. But now behold *Aziru* is destroying me, and I repeat there (are) no oxen, nor . . . for me; *Aziru* has taken all. And there is no corn for my eating. And the chiefs—the *Pakas*—also have been nourished by the cities, exhausting the corn for their eating. Again: (being faithful), the King shall establish for me, as men of government, the men of government of their own cities, the men who at first were with their subjects. But as for me my cities are *Aziru*’s, and they long for me, to whom destruction is made by him, who is a dog of the sons of *Abdasherah*, and either you shall do for us as they wish, or you shall give orders for us to the King’s cities in these matters.

48 B.—This begins with the usual salutation, and then continues: ‘If perchance I send a message to the King my Lord, do not thou refuse the request of my memorial. Lo! thrice has come upon me a year of storms (or tumults), and again a year of storms begins. My wheat is nought; the wheat for us to eat: that which was for sowing for my free-men is finished; their beasts, their herbs, the trees

of their gardens, are wretched, in my unhappy land. Our corn has failed. Once more the King will hear the message of his faithful servant, and will order wheat in ships, and his servant shall live; and be thou moved and send us corn. The chiefs (will send?) horses, as commanded, to *Zu* And thou shalt defend the city (by so doing?) . . . behold *Yankhamu* says (or asks) that wheat be given to *Ribadda* to him corn (the bread of men?) and now with *Yapaaddu* their money henceforth ask him, he will tell all in your presence. Mayest thou know when it is spoken in the presence of the King my Lord. And this year of storms makes the wheat scarce (in) my unhappy land . . . there was scarcity before in the city *Simyra*, and now behold in the city *Gebal*.'

The text is here too broken to be read. It seems, perhaps, to refer to the enemy having possession of the sea, and to the entreaties of *Yankhamu*, and to certain waters, and the general wretchedness. A paragraph then begins:¹

'The King of the Land *Taratzi*² has coveted the city of *Simyra*; and they desired to march to the

¹ The paragraphs are marked off in many of the letters by the word *sacumu*, 'pause.'

² *Taratzi* may perhaps be Tarsus. *Baal Tarzi* is the legend on Phœnician coins of that city. Its king naturally would have a common border with Abdasherah on the north, if his fortresses (or land) were outside the northern Lebanon, which was the Amorite country, and he was therefore regarded as a possible ally.

city of *Gebal*; and none now has urged him, and he has stayed in his land. Now as he is strong he will send to the great by my wish they have returned to us.' The letter is again much broken; it refers to a ruler, saying: 'His heart is with my heart; but *Abdasherah* has conquered beyond the land of the *Amorites*, also since the time of your father the city of *Sidon* has submitted to the occupation by his allies: the lands are for the men of blood, so now there is none who is a friend (or kin) to me. Let the King regard the message of his servant. Let him give men to guard his city. Is not she insulted by all the men of blood?'

The latter part, referring to allies, is much broken.

54 B.—This is broken at the top, and considerably injured. It demands soldiers, and the restoration of the rulers. 'The city of (*Sidon* ?), and the city of *Beirût*, the sons of *Abdasherah* have silenced: they fought for the King, but the city of *Sidon* and the city of *Beirût* are not the King's. We sent a *Paka*: he did not desert his duty to you, but she has rebelled to your face: for it was permitted by the freemen. The men of blood have seized the city.¹ Behold as for me this is my repetition city *Atsar* restraint . . .'

¹ Comparing the letters from *Beirût* and *Sidon* (27 B. M., 90 B.) it will be seen that the city whose freemen were on the side of *Aziru* was *Sidon*.

49 B.—This letter is much damaged; it begins with the usual salutation, and continues: ‘Lo! he makes the chiefs of (*Ukri*?) to dwell in fear of making an end. Lo! the King asked from his rulers as to my brethren. O King, is it not right to approach them, when the King shall ask? and we have set our faces fast towards thy servants. I desire this, to strengthen my neighbour . . . the city of (*Ukri*?).¹ Their ruler will go out then from my presence. They have interfered with my sister (town), and the waters of my brother’s growing corn. I am despatching to the city *Ukri* from the presence of *Abdasherah* The King . . . all the lands if as to my brethren the King will ask . . . a neighbour I shall send to the King this Blame us not for his weakness (or affliction), and in time past we have ruled over him, and if you will ask as to my brethren, and shall be grieved, this city (has) no (government that the King should ask after it?) Do not we know this day (what) he did to all? and trust me, if the King will not ask of the rulers. Lo! if he ceases oppression as an enemy I am well pleased. Behold the land of the city of *Ukri*: there are no lands (or towns) of rulers . . . his . . . spoiled the land for us.’ The next passage about servants, governors, and the *Paka* is too broken to read. The letter concludes by asking

¹ If *Ukri* be the right reading, the town of *’Akkar* in Lebanon, east of Tripoli, would be probable. It gives its name to the district of *Jebel ’Akkâr*, and is at the source of the river *’Akkâr*, which agrees with the mention of the ‘waters.’

support, and asks excuse on account of the enemy's success.

75 B.—The usual salutation is here damaged, and the middle of the text. ‘Behold since the arrival of *Amanappa* in my presence all the men of blood have set their faces to me; they have fulfilled the wishes of *Abdasherah*; and my Lord shall hear the messages of his servant; and men of garrison, for the defence of the royal city. Send the Egyptian soldiers (*bitati*) . . . as there are no Egyptian soldiers it befalls thee, that the lands . . . to the men of blood; since the seizing of the city *Maar* . . .¹ at the command of *Abdasherah*; and so our limits are the city of *Gebal* and the city of *Batrûna*;² but so not all the lands are to the men of blood—two chief cities which are (still) to be wrecked for (us). And they have turned back³ to take from us She has remained peaceful to the King, and my Lord shall order men of garrison for his two cities, till the Egyptian soldiers march forth. But everything fails me, of the food of the land (our teeth have gnawed nothing at all?). As the heart of a bird fails, seeing the snare, this city has remained.

¹ *Maar*(ah) is probably the *Mearah* of the Bible (Josh. xiii. 4), now *el Mogheiriyeh*, six miles north-east of Sidon. This conquest may have just preceded the fall of Sidon.

² *Gebal* and *Batrûn* are ten miles apart. *Ribadda*’s kingdom had extended at least twenty miles along the coast; and if *Beirût* and *Tripoli* were not independent, his land would have reached much further—to *Simyra* and *Sidon*.

³ This letter shows very clearly that the taking of *Sidon* preceded the fall of *Byblos* (*Gebal*).

She is helpless before them lamenting. Once more they have shut up my it has come to pass the lands . . . *Abdasherah*, the slave dog . . . the lands of the King to himself.'

84 B.—Is much broken; all the cities are taken except *Gebal* and *Batruna*, which remain like birds in the snare. But he still 'trusts.'

12 B. M.—' *Ribadda* speaks to the King of Lands, of many lands, the great King the prosperous King. The Lady (Baalath) of *Gebal* gives power to the King my Lord. I bow at my Lord's feet—the Sun God—seven times seven times. Let the King know! behold! the city *Gebal* his handmaid, faithful to the King, has gathered because of the allies who are his foes. And I am ill at ease: behold the King lets slip from his hand the chief city that is faithful to him. Let the King smite the lands of those who rob him. Lo! is not he a faithful servant, her chief who abides in the city of *Gebal*? Do not you say so to your servant, when there is a mighty fighting against him of men of blood, and the Gods of the land are (evilly disposed?), and our sons have been worn out, and our daughters have fled, and there is weakness in my unhappy land. For our living, my fields gave sustenance, which no . . . secured. For as many as I possess, all my cities which are in flames, also the foe has overthrown: they submitted to the bloody soldiers. The city of *Gebal* with two cities, remains to me; and I am ill at ease because *Abdasherah* is

marching. The city of *Sigata* (is) his; and he is saying to the chiefs of the city of *Ammia* (*Amyun*), "They have slain your chief and you have done like us, and you have rebelled, and you obeyed his order, and they will punish you as men of blood." And I am ill at ease. Lo! now *Abdasherah* sends for soldiers. I have remained alone—they will be rejoiced at it, and there is ruin before the city of *Gebal*, if there is no great man to gain me safety from his hands. And the chiefs of the government are expelled from the midst of the lands; and you relinquish all the lands to the men of blood, squandering the wealth of all the lands; and they have torn away sons and daughters nobly born; and (this) while the King is pondering about it, and all the lands have fought for him. And from what they have done to us, behold now thou wilt become naked to their destructions. And so now I am exceedingly afraid. Behold now there is no great man who wins me salvation from their hands. As birds that are in the midst of the snares this place has remained. I myself am in the city of *Gebal*. Why is there this overthrow of thy land? Now I send (complaint?) to the palace (or great city) and you will not hear us. Now this (is) my message. *Amanabba* is with thee, ask him: he has fled,¹ and he will show the evils that are against me. Let the

¹ From 75 B. it seems that *Amanabba* had been sent to *Gebal* (probably in consequence of the former letters from *Ribadda*), but it seems he fled again.

King hear his servant's message ; and he shall establish his servant's life, and his servant shall live, and shall defend the . . . with him.'

The remainder of the letter is broken. It asks for advice and information, and for consideration of the memorial. Ribadda's letters increase in pathetic eloquence as the great catastrophe approaches.

56 B.—A much-broken letter. They are advancing to take *Gebal*. Money has been given to a certain chief who has turned against *Ribadda*.

62 B.—A mere fragment. The enemy are advancing on *Gebal* with the intention of taking it.

63 B.—This also is much broken. It refers to *Yapaaddu*, to the King's *Paka* receiving orders, and to the rulers, and contains the statement, 'They have cut off two of my ships, with my sons (or men) and all that was mine.'

80 B.—Begins with the usual salutation, and continues: 'Does the King my Lord know? Behold the city of *Gebal* has gathered, she has gathered those faithful to the King, and very mighty was the battle of the men of blood against me, and there is no rest through the city of *Simyra*. (Defeat has not befallen?) the men of blood, through the King's *Paka* (chief), whom they cast out from the city of *Simyra*. The chief city is troubled. Now *Pakha(mnata)*, the King's *Paka*, who (was) in the city of *Simyra*, has sent a message—he has failed. Sixty minas (*mana*¹)

¹ In later times the small *mina* of Palestine was £8 6s. 8d., and the large was £16 13s. 4d. (see Conder's 'Handbook to the Bible,' p. 81). This represents, therefore, at least £500 or

it is that they are asking the city of *Gebal*, from my unhappy land. The battle was waged very mightily against us, and the King is not defended by his fortress.'

81 B.—'To *Rabzabi*¹ . . . thus *Ribadda* thy son.' The letter is much broken. He refers to money, and asks him to complain to the King. He says he is afraid that the freemen are not (faithful?) to the King's governor, if the broken portion may be so understood.

82 B.—'To *Ribadda* my son thus by letter (says) King *Rabzabi* thy father. May our Gods prosper thee, prosper thy fortress. Let him ask to know. The sons of our Lord have spoken accordingly. They have spoken of the strife of the chiefs of the city of *Simyra*. (He has vanquished my fears?) of being made to perish by the city of *Simyra*, of our perishing by these chiefs; and lo! they have allotted decrees, they are creating a memorial. Have I not been bent upon the decrees? and decrees of the King have followed. And unless they have destroyed everything, the King makes sure to show

perhaps £1,000; but in this early age the value of money was probably higher.

¹ *Ribadda* has said (63 B.) that his sons fell into the power of the enemy when in ships. He also sends a list of property to Egypt (85 B.). Probably when these ships were sent his father went to Egypt, whence he wrote (82 B.), and a copy was sent to the King. There is one other letter in the collection, which was written from Egypt, by Amenophis III. to the King of Babylon (B. M. 1), which seems to be a copy, unless in both cases the letters were not sent. (See Appendix.)

them their master. For the King is imposing decrees. The decrees of the King are saying: "Why do ye make a waste land to those who are servants of the King? I shall despatch men. I shall send a garrison for the chief city." I am sending the King's . . . to you . . . soldiers . . in A gathering they are making of all.'

In spite of his father's zealous assistance in Egypt, this favourable intention came too late.

76 B.—'From *Riibiddi* as a letter to the King my Lord: beneath the feet of my Lord seven times and seven times I bow. Behold my Lord's message from this (remnant?): from the lands of the despised, and from the chief city of fugitives, they have wandered. To go for us, accordingly I have ordered my ships to go out from shore (or wall). Lo! *Aziru* has fought with me. And all the chiefs of the government gathered, hardening their hearts. I have gathered to us their ships; and as they go to us in haste their abodes are deserted, which are subject (to) this *Amorite* race; and they have been suddenly destroyed. I am chosen chief of the chiefs of the government. To me accordingly they have subjected everything; and they have removed—on account of the success of the chiefs of my enemies—the silver from the palaces, and all else, on account of his destructions. But the King shall order soldiers for them, and now I shall send to my Lord for soldiers; and soldiers of garrison do not thou'

The letter is much broken here. It refers to the son of *Abdasherah*, and to the chief city of the *Giblites*, to his messenger, and to there being no news of soldiers coming. 'You will not (even) glance at us and despatch him. The lean soldiers are growling. "When (is) the King to feed this city? and he thinks evil of her." Speed your chief to her. Why is he not ordered from the palace, being said that soldiers (are to be) sent? They have destroyed us, and they ravage the lands . . . I cause to be sent repeatedly; a message is not returned us for me. They have seized all the lands of the King my Lord; and my Lord has said that they are to repent. But now behold the soldiers of the land of the *Hittites* have trampled down our papyrus.¹ The chief city of *Gebal* (has) no food. But counsel the city . . . and accordingly I will listen. O King! for the *Misi* (Delta) men—all of them, you ordered of me presents of the royal gold, because of the sons of *Abdasherah*; and when you ordered me they were subjecting the sons of *Abdasherah* to the King; and so now it is lawful.'

85 B.—This is a list of various articles with a broken name, apparently (*Rib*)*adda*'s, at the top, including perhaps either presents, or his own property sent to Egypt. The tablet is much injured. It appears to mention precious stones and articles of gold, and includes male and female slaves. *Yazimi*, 'the servant of God,' with *Abdaddu*, is mentioned near the end.

¹ Gebal was celebrated for its papyrus. It grew in the river Adonis, close to the city. The enemy were now closing in.

71 B.—‘*Ribadda* . . . to the King my Lord . . . at the feet . . . seven times and seven times¹ . . . I send and I repeat (the message), and you listen not thereto . . The King my Lord shall hear the message, and it explains to the *Paur* (magnate) . . . to the Lords of the Palace, because in vain the soldiers of garrison have hastened to him. And you will remember my Lo! it is not granted to my sons to take root for me, as the prophets have perceived of old; and the race of the foes (will) remain. I being asked am going to those who are free, to *Khamu* my son, and to my younger brother, who have both left the city of *Gebal*. There was good fortune for the sons of *Abdasherah*, as to the subjugation of the capital city; behold my brother has commanded, he went out as my envoy. It is no use: the soldiers of the garrison failed with him; and they have defeated me; and so the evil is done; and they make me flee from the city: it is not defended from the power of the enemy. Now I say do not prevent a descent to the Lands of Egypt, and a settlement. And you will help me very much. My great men consent; and the King my Lord will consider. Lo! the Gods of *Gebal* (be with him) and you will help me very much; and “It is well” they have said: good are my wishes to the Gods. So now I shall not come down to the presence of the King my Lord. But now my son, a servant of the King my Lord, I am sending to the presence of

¹ The salutations in the last letters are very curt as compared with the earlier ones.

the King my Lord, and the King shall hear the desire of his faithful servant, and appoint us Egyptian soldiers (*bitati*). And request (has been made) to the King of *Babeli* (Babylon,¹ an ally of Egypt); but he . . . no soldiers of his host in her midst. . . . Egyptian soldiers of the King my Lord to come to her. Behold the entanglement of the chiefs friendly to my (throne?) in the midst of the city. A son of one of the chiefs is a friend in her midst. The Egyptian soldiers are strong; and they have heard of those who are reaching her; and the city has remained to the King my Lord; and the King my Lord knows that it is against him that they have (cried war?). Now I am going to a town (that) I defend for my Lord, determined in heart, before the King my Lord, that the chief city shall not be given to the sons of *Abdasherah*. So my brother has fought him: the city is stubborn against the sons of *Abdasherah*. He is not able to leave the town,² when there is plenty of silver and gold in her midst in the Temple of the Gods, plenty of everything if they take her. O King my Lord what is done to his servant by them is done. But appoint the town of *Buruzizi*³ for my

¹ The King of Babylon refused to help the Canaanites in the reign of Amenophis III. (See Appendix.)

² The younger brother was not the one left in charge.

³ *Buruzizi* is probably *Beit Ziza*, east of *Batrûn*, in the range which runs out to the great pass of Ras Shakkah. *Batrûn* was perhaps still holding out, and the town was a refuge high up in the wild mountains. *Buru* means 'well,' and *Beit* 'house' of *Ziza*.

dwelling. Lo! *Khamu* my son (sets forth?) the request in the presence. Behold! this dwelling of the chief city—the town of *Buruzizi*—the sons of *Abdasherah* have been afraid to smite. Lo! *Khamu* my son is going to the presence: for the sons of *Abdasherah* have pricked against me, and none remains to mourn, O King, for me. And I mourn to the King my Lord. Behold the city of *Gebal* is a city truly like our eye: there is plenty of all that is royal in her midst: the servants of the chief city were at peace, the chiefs were our well-wishers before time when the King's voice was for all. It is the chief city of the land they have wasted for me—and is none of his. Will not this desire prevail with the King? Behold thy servant, my son, I am despatching to the presence of the King my Lord; and there shall be ordered him protection of the King by soldiers . . . you will come marching to us. For the King my Lord will protect me. And restore thou me to the chief city, and to my house as of old. O King my Lord . . . of the King my Lord in her midst; and . . . the city from (shame?) . . . as . . . *Khamu* . . . till . . . shall hear . . . their servant . . . to her midst . . . the soldiers (*bitati*) of the King my Lord; and you will strengthen the soldiers of this place speedily . . . the chief city, as I trust; and you will march to the city . . . Lo! what he is saying in the presence of the King cannot it be done? O King my Lord . . . the chief city of a neighbour (*Gur*); and which has been laid low to

the demands of those that hate the same it is not just to see what is done to the lands the soldiers of the King my Lord; and she trusts the King my Lord.'

This seems to be the last of Ribadda's fifty letters. There is no mention of any return to Gebal, or of victory over the Amorites. We do not know that he got safe to Buruzizi, but can only hope he did. It was too late when his father obtained promise of aid. So energetic a writer would probably have written again if he had been alive to do so. The Amorite letters had blinded the eyes of Amenophis so long that their position was secured. As we shall see also, there were other appeals from every part of the country.

Subandi's Letters.

If Subandi be the Zabandi of Ribadda's letter (51 B.), the following also belong to the Phœnician-Amorite war.

38 B. M.—'To the King my Lord my God my Sun, the Sun from heaven, thus says *Subandi* thy servant, the captain of thy horse: at the feet of the King my Lord, the Sun from heaven, seven times and seven times is made to bow both the heart and also the body. I hear all the messages of the King my Lord, the Sun from heaven, and now I shall guard the land of the King that is with me, and . . . I hear . . . exceeding much.'

39 B. M. is an almost identical letter from the same writer.

40 B. M.—The salutation by *Subandi* is the same. The letter is broken. He speaks of a message from the King, and of fighting. He speaks of assisting the King's servant and the fortresses, and mentions the arrival of the King as expected, and the *Kau Mas*. These latter words are evidently Egyptian, *Kau* meaning 'men' and *Masa* 'infantry.'

116 B.—The same salutation. It is a short letter acknowledging the receipt of a letter, and ends by speaking of men of blood, and that the 'King knows about his cities.'

117 B.—The same salutation: 'The King my Lord, the Sun from heaven, has sent *Khanni* to me.' It is injured, but seems to refer to 'an hundred oxen and thirty women. For the King my Lord, the Sun from heaven, has instructed.'

118 B.—A similar salutation. He will defend the King's land. '(Ask?) the great man if we have not listened to the King's *Paka*: now he has been listened to exceeding much—the *Paka* of the King my Lord, Son of the Sun from heaven.' (But see Note on this letter.)

120 B.—A short letter from *Subandi*, merely saying that he has received the King's message.¹

¹ As regards the final outcome of these wars in the north we obtain light from the letters of Dusratta, King of Mitani (see Part VII.). He was a younger man than Amenophis III., and his sister married the said King of Egypt. His daughter *Tadukhipa* married Amenophis IV., and there were friendly rela-

tions with Egypt in the latter as well as in the former reign. In his Hittite letter (27 B.) Dusratta speaks of the boundaries of a region which seems to have been conceded to him as his daughter's wedding-gift. He calls himself 'Great Chief of the Hittites,' and the border was to run to *Harran, Chalcis* (south of Aleppo), and the 'Phœnician West.' Thus Dusratta, who says in another letter (apparently his first) that he has conquered the Hittites, would seem to have swallowed up the Hittite King of Mer'ash and part, if not the whole, of Aziru's country; and the Mongol populations were thus to be ruled from Armenia, which was much nearer than Egypt. What became of the King of Kadesh these letters do not say; but he was independent in later times, when Seti I. went up 'to conquer the city of Kadesh in the land of the Amorites' (Brugsch, Hist., ii., p. 15), and Kadesh was taken by Rameses II., the successor of Seti I., after which a commercial treaty was made with Kheta Sar, the King of Kadesh, whose daughter Rameses II. married. There was thus, perhaps, Hittite blood in the veins of the Pharaohs of the nineteenth dynasty. In the treaty papyrus (see Chabas' 'Voyage,' p. 336) it is mentioned that the same terms—of equality—had existed in the time of the writer's father and grandfather that were claimed of Rameses II., and that war had occurred later. This seems to show that Kadesh was independent shortly after the time of the rebellion detailed in the Tell Amarna letters. The relations with the Hittites were still friendly in the reign of Rameses III., when the Aryan hordes from Asia Minor overran the Hittite country, and came down even to Egypt. In David's time, the border between his kingdom and those of the Hittites and Phœnicians was drawn from Hermon to Danjaan, south of Tyre (2 Sam. xxiv. 6), and Solomon married Hittite princesses. The Hittite independence was only finally destroyed about 700 B.C. by the Assyrians.

V.

NORTHERN PALESTINE.

Letters from Beirût.

26 B. M.—‘To the King my Lord my Sun my God, to the King my Lord by letter thus *Ammunira*, chief of the city of *Burutu*, thy servant, the dust of thy feet: at the feet of the King my Lord my Sun my God—the King my Lord—seven and seven times I bow. I hear the messages of . . . of the King my Lord my Sun my God—the ruler of my life, and they have drawn the heart of thy servant, and the dust of the feet of the King my Lord my Sun and my God—the King my Lord—exceeding much. Sufficient is the order of the King my Lord my Sun my God, for his servant and the dust of his feet. Behold the King my Lord my Sun has sent to his servant, and the dust of his feet, “Speed to the presence of the Egyptian soldiers (*bitati*) of the King thy Lord.” I listen exceeding much, and now I have sped, with my horses, and with my chariots, and with all who march with the servant of the King my Lord, to meet the Egyptian soldiers of

the King my Lord. And art not thou confident of the event? The breast of the enemies of the King my Lord my Sun my God shall be troubled. And shall not the eyes of thy servant behold this, through the mastery of the King my Lord; and the King my Lord my Sun my God, the King my Lord, shall see. Thou increasest the favours of thy servant. Now as to the servant of the King my Lord, and the footstool of his feet, now let him fortify the city of the King my Lord my Sun—the ruler of my life, and her gardens (that is to say the mulberries¹), till the eyes behold the Egyptian soldiers of the King my Lord, and the servant of the King I proclaim' (or predict).

27 B. M.—'To the King my Lord thus says *Ammunira* thy servant, the dust of thy feet. At the feet of the King my Lord seven and seven times I bow. I hear the message of the letter, and what is thereby commanded to me O King my Lord. And I hear (the precept?) of the message of the scribe of my Lord, and my heart is eager, and my eyes are enlightened exceedingly. Now I have watched much, and have caused the city of *Burutu* to be fortified for the King my Lord, until the coming of the Egyptian soldiers (*bitati*) of the King my Lord. As to the chief of the city of *Gebal* who is in trouble together with me, now they defend him till there shall be counsel of the King to his servant. The King my Lord is shown the grief of

¹ The mulberry is still found in large gardens at Beirût and throughout the Lebanon. Since Justinian's time it has been the food of silkworms.

one's brother which troubles us both. From the city of Gebal, lo! the sons of *Ribaadda* who is in trouble with me, are subjected to chiefs who are sinners to the King, who (are) from the land of the *Amorites*. Now I have caused them to haste with my horses and with my chariots and with all who are with me, to meet the soldiers (*bitati*) of the King my Lord. At the feet of the King my Lord seven and seven times I bow.'

Ammunira was Ribadda's friend (see 16 B. M.), and his letter agrees with Ribadda's: clearly, therefore, the seizure of Ribadda's sons comes historically before the loss of Beirût, Mearah, and Sidon (54 B., 75 B.).

Letter from Sidon.

90 B.—'To the King my Lord my God my Sun—the King my Lord¹—by letter thus *Zimridi*, the Governor of the city of Sidon (*Ziduna*): at the feet of the King my Lord my God my Sun—the King my Lord—seven times and seven times I bow. Does not the King my Lord know? Lo! the city of *Sidon* has gathered. I am gathering, O King my Lord, all who are faithful to my hands (power). And lo! I hear the message of the King my Lord. Behold, he causes it to be sent to his servant, and my heart rejoices, and my head is raised, and my

¹ This repetition may perhaps be regarded as only a phonetic explanation of the preceding ideograms; but perhaps the words were added to show with certainty that by the terms God and Sun he meant the King of Egypt.

eyes are enlightened; my ears hear the message of the King my Lord; and know O King I have proclaimed in presence of the Egyptian soldiers (*bitati*) of the King my Lord, I have proclaimed all, as the King my Lord has spoken; and know O King my Lord lo! mighty has been the battle against me: all who are faithful to the King in it has come to pass, and the chiefs sons, and are faithful to the King and her chief who goes out in the presence of the King's Egyptian soldiers (*bitati*). The greatest of the fortresses deserts to the enemies: which has gone well for the men of blood, and they are gaining them from my hands, and my destruction is before me. O King my Lord as said the chiefs who are my foes have done.'

From the letters of the King of Tyre which follow (99 B. and 28-31 B. M.) we see that Zimridi was a weak ruler. His own letter agrees with one from Ribadda (54 B.) as showing that Sidon fell by treachery, not by war.

Letters from Tyre.

These appear to begin early, before the appearance of Aziru, and show that the rivalry of Tyre and Sidon was of early origin. None of the letters mention Tyre except those written by her king.

99 B.—'To the King my Lord my God my Sun thus (says) *Abimelec*¹ thy servant: seven and seven

¹ The name Abimelech at Tyre is interesting. It occurs as the name of a Phœnician king in the time of Assurbanipal (885-860 B.C.). The chief deity of Tyre was Moloch, or

(times) at the feet of the King my Lord (I bow). The King my Lord sends (to ask) if I have finished what is doing with me. I present to the King my Lord an hundred ornaments (or 'crowns,' perhaps 'shekels'—*tacilal*); and let the King my Lord give his countenance to his servant, and let him give the city *Huzu*¹ to his servant—a fountain to supply water for his drinking: let the King my Lord grant (a chief a subject?)² to guard his town; and let me plead, and let the face of the King my Lord regard my explanation before the King my Lord. As said behold let the King my Lord confide in me to defend his city. Lo! the King of the city of *Sidon* is taking the people who are my subjects—a chief who is my inferior (or foe). Let the King give his countenance to his servant, and let him order his *Paka* (chief), and let him give the city of *Huzu* for waters to his servant, to take trees for our use for the dwellings. Lo! he has made war: nothing is left. In vain have they threshed corn if the King of Sidon despoils the King's land. The King of the city of *Khazura* (Hazor)³ is leaving his

Melkarth; and the name means 'my father is Moloch,' claiming a divine descent. The son of Gideon and certain Philistine kings are so named in the Bible.

¹ *Huzu* is probably the modern *el Ghazîyeh*, near Sidon. It is at the foot of the hills, and there is a stream (*Nahr ez Zahrâny*, 'flowery river') four miles to the south, which accounts for the notice of the waters. It seems clearly to have been in the direction of Sidon.

² *Belu amil neru*, literally 'a lord, a chief man of the yoke (or government).'

³ See the letters from Hazor after those from Tyre. This

city, and goes out with men of blood. Let the King show their borders to the hostile (or inferior) chiefs. The King's land is vexed by men of blood. Let the King send his *Paka* (chief) who is in our land.'

29 B. M.—'To the King my Lord, my God, my Sun thus (says) *Abimelec* thy servant: seven and seven (times) at the feet of the King my Lord I bow. I (am) the dust beneath the shoes of the King my Lord my master—the Sun God who comes forth in presence of the world from day to day, as the manifestation of the Sun God his gracious father: who gives life by his good word, and gives light to what is obscure: who frees all lands from dissensions by just rule of a free country; who gives this his compassion from heaven, like the God Adonis, and causes all lands to rest through his mercy. This is the message of a servant to his Lord. Lo! I hear the gracious messenger of the King who reaches his servant, and the good utterance which comes from the hands of the King my Lord for his servant; and the utterance it makes clear, since the arrival of the messenger of the King my Lord. Does not he make it clear?—the utterance is clear. The lands of my fathers behold it records. Lo! the utterance of the King comes to me, and I rejoice exceedingly and (my heart has risen?) from day to day because the land is not Behold

petty monarch was an enemy to the southern possessions of the King of Tyre.

I heard the gracious messenger from my Lord, and all my land has been afraid as to my Lord's countenance. Lo! I heard the good utterance; and the gracious messenger who reaches me, behold he said, O King my Lord, that the region (is) to be established by the presence of many soldiers; and the servant says for his Lord that my plain is my land over against my highlands, over against the plain of my cities. He has borne the order of the King my Lord listening to the King his Lord, and has served him (in his integrity?), and the Sun God he has proclaimed before him; and he makes clear the good utterance from the hands of his Lord, and does he not listen to the order of his Lord? The portion of his town his Lord has divided. His word none shall overthrow in all the lands for ever. Behold (this is) the duty that he heard from his Lord. His city will rest, will rest from overthrowing his utterance for all time. Thou art the Sun God whom he has proclaimed before him; and the decision which shall set at rest is lasting for one. And because she judges that the King my Lord is just our land obeys—the land that I am given. This Abimelec says to the Sun God. My Lord I am given what appears before the King my Lord. And now the city *Zarbitu*¹ is to be guarded by the city of Tyre (*Tsuru*) for the King my Lord.' (See Note for this page.)

¹ The site of Zarbitu is probably the Sarepta, or Zarephah, of the Bible (1 Kings xvii. 9, etc.), which is now *Sarafand*, half-way between Tyre and Sidon. The decision was therefore just;

31 B. M.—‘To the King the Sun . . . thus says *Abimel(cc)* seven times and seven times at the feet I am the dust from . . . below . . . and the King the Sun forever The King spoke to his servant (and) to his servant my comrade: he has granted that extension be given, and as to waters for (his servant’s) drinking. And they did not as the King my Lord has said; and we arrive at no fulfilment. And let the King counsel his servant my comrade. He has granted that the waters be given, because of the abundance there to drink. My Lord the King, behold, there is no one to tend my trees, no one (to tend) my waters, no one to make Let the King my Lord know.’ The next lines are much broken, and the letter then continues: ‘. . . . As the King has said. And let the King assign to his servant and to the city of Tyre (*Tsuru*) the city that my comrade has given, and what the order lays down on the side of the King for his servant, which the King made an order (less than a year ago?). The King is the eternal Sun God, and to his faithful servant the King my Lord shall for guardians of the town that my comrade has granted. My requests as to this town. Moreover my Lord . . . soldiers against me . . . to my desire King. Lo! his

but though apparently satisfied, Abimelec did not get what he asked in the preceding letter—if that demand was really the earlier one. There is a fine fountain (*Ainel Kantarah*, ‘spring of the arch’) to the north of Sarepta, and the region generally is well watered. The town was famous in the Byzantine age for wine.

heart is evil King my Lord; and he turns away from my wish; and O King my Lord (thou knowest the hearts of all those in the land?), and let the King give his countenance to his servant; and to the city of *Tyre* the town that my comrade has granted (is) to be given waters for (irrigation?). Moreover my Lord. . . . Let the King ask his *Paka*. Lo! the chief of the city of *Zar(epta)* has followed the city of *Simyra* (with) a ship. I am marching, and the chief of the city of *Sidon* marches out; and as for me he has marched with all and let the King counsel his servant.'

30 B. M.—*Abimelec* begins with his ordinary salutation. 'Thus far I defend the King's city which he confides to my hands very much. My intention (has been) to walk in sight of the face of the King my Lord, and not to take by force from the hands of *Zimridi* of the city of *Sidon*. Lo! I hear me that he will strive, and has made war with me. Let the King my Lord send down to me . . . chiefs for guards of the city of the King my Lord; and let me strive (or plead) for the dwellings of the King my Lord, with those who deceive his gracious countenance. I set my face to (encourage?) the region of those who are peaceful with the King my Lord; and let the King my Lord ask his *Paka* (chief). Lo! I set my face (or, confirm my intention) for ever, O King my Lord. Now a messenger I am despatching to of the King my Lord, and

. . . . the King my Lord the messenger his letter and may it be the means of the King my Lord (that) he sets his face . . . for ever to . . . the face of the King my Lord. His servant will not let slip . . . from (his) hands Let the King my Lord give his countenance and (he) shall waters for the drawing . . . and woods for his servant. . . Know O King my Lord behold they are plucking the fruit that we left. There are no waters and no woods for us. Now *Elisaru* the messenger to the presence of the King my Lord has hasted, and I have made bold to present five precious things of copper, this agate, one throne of gold. The King my Lord sends to me (saying) "Send to me all you hear from the land of Canaan" (*Cina'ana*.) The King of *Danuna*¹ has been destroyed, and his brother is ruling after him, and his land has broken out, and they have seized the King of the town of *Hugarit*,² and mighty is the slaughter that follows him. He is strong, and none are saved from him, nor any from the chiefs of the army of the land of the *Hittites*. The proud *Edagama*³ of the city *Ciidzi* (Kadesh on Orontes,

¹ *Danuna* is probably the Danjaan of the Bible, now the ruin *Dâniân*, four miles north of Achzib, and on the border between Tyre and Accho (see 2 Sam. xxiv. 6).

² *Hugarit* is probably '*Akrîth*, eight miles east of Danjaan. It has been mentioned as taken by Aziru, in Yapaaddu's letter (128 B.). Perhaps the attack was from the east; and the King of Hazor seems to have joined the Hittites (see 99 B.).

³ *Edagama* has been mentioned as *Aidugama* in Akizzi's letter from Katna, which was east of Neboyapiza's city Cumidi (*Kamid*). See B. M. 37.

the capital of the Southern Hittites, now *Kades*) and *Aziru* have fought—they have fought with *Neboyapiza* they have come to the regions of *Zimridi*. Lo! he gathers ships of soldiers against me from the fortresses of *Aziru*. And lo! they have grievously opposed my Lord's subjects, and all will break out. Let the King give countenance to his servant, and let him leap forth to go out a conqueror' (or 'to the region').

28 B. M.—'To the King my Lord my Sun my God thus (says) *Abimelec* thy servant; seven and seven (times) at the feet of the King my Lord I bow. I am the dust beneath the feet. Consider me O King my Lord. The King my Lord (is) like the Sun; like the air god (or Adonis) in heaven art thou. Let the King advise his servant: the King my Lord confides in me. I watch the city of *Tyre* the handmaid of the King. And I send a hasty letter to the King my Lord, and no order does he return to me. I am the *Paka*¹ (chief) of the King my Lord, and I have diligently followed what was ordered. But as to our silence to the King my Lord let the King be assured. As a subject I guard his city. And let me plead (or strive) before the King my Lord, and let him see his face. Who shall preserve one born a subject? Lo there has gone forth no command from the hands of the King his Lord; and he may

¹ In the former letters (B. M. 31, B. 99) *Abimelec* has spoken of the *Paka* as distinct from himself. Perhaps the Egyptian residents withdrew when the troops were withdrawn.

not know when the King sends to his servant. He may never know. As for me.'

The letter is here too broken to read consecutively. It refers to the 'west,' and apparently to 'burning,' to *Aziru*, and to someone, perhaps a king's messenger, called *Khabi*. The letter becomes readable on the back of the tablet.

' . . . by *Elisaru* the messenger it is confirmed that the city of *Simyra* is *Aziru*'s. And is not the King nourished by his city of *Tyre*, by his country? Lo! if I shall be destroyed the King is destroyed. But thus his fortress has been wasted, and there has been great fear, and all the lands have feared; for he has not walked after (*i.e.*, obeyed) the King my Lord. O King know: desolation has remained with me—with the *Paka* in the city of *Tyre*. *Zimridi* is gone to the city *Irib*.¹ He has escaped from slavery; and there is no water or wood for us; and alas! there is none remaining to stand up for me. The chief is helpless. And let the King my Lord advise his servant by a letter he sends to me, whom you thus hear. And *Zimrida* of the city of *Sidon* has sent to the King, and *Aziru* is a man sinful against the King, and the chiefs of the city *Arāda* (Arvad) destroy me,² and (everything is

¹ *Irib* is probably '*Arab Salim*, fourteen miles south-east of *Sidon*, on the highest part of the mountains. It stands on a precipice 400 feet above the gorge of the *Zahrany* River (Robinson, '*Later Bib. Res.*,' p. 47), and was a stronghold.

² *Aziru*'s allies from *Arvad* no doubt attacked *Tyre* by sea.

altered ?) through their ravages ; and they will gather their ships, their chariots, their foot soldiers, to seize the city of *Tyre* the King's handmaid. She has been very constant to the King's hand, and the city of *Tyre* has been crushed by them. Were they not violent in taking the city of *Simyra* ? They took from the hands of *Zimrida* him who bore the King's order to *Aziru* ; and I sent a letter to the King my Lord, and he returns me not an order for his servant. They have fought (for a long time ?) against me. There are no waters¹ and no trees. Let there be ordered a letter for his servant, and let me plead, and let me see his face, and the King to his servant, and to his city, and not his city and his land. Why do they . . . the King our Lord from the land, and and he has known that I honour the King's power, who . . . no . . . to my letter — a subject before the King my Sun, my Lord ; and let the King answer his servant.'

Letters from Accho.

93 B.—*Surata*, chief of *Acca*, sends the usual formula of compliment, and continues : 'What chief

¹ Dr. Bezold has remarked that want of water was always the weakness of Tyre. In the reign of Rameses II. the Egyptian traveller (Chabas, p. 313) speaks of water sent to the island of Tyre in boats. Tyre is called by him the city of 'two ports,' one being on the north, called the Sidonian, and one on the south, called the Egyptian.

is there who when the King his Lord sends to him will not hear? As this is sent out by desire of the Sun God from heaven, so now it is promised him.'

32 B. M.—A short letter from *Zitatna*, of Accho, merely says that he bows seven times and seven times at the King's feet.

94 B.—Another short letter by the same states that he listens to the King's wishes.

95 B.—'To the King my Lord my . . . the Sun from heaven thus says *Zatatna* chief of the city of *Acca*, thy servant, the King's servant, and the dust at the feet trampled under the feet of the King my Lord—the Sun God from heaven: seven times and seven times he bows both heart and body. The King my Lord shall hear the message of his servant; the woman my wife He has left from *Neboyapiza* with *Suta* of the King, in the city of *Acca* to say anything him. She has urged (that) soldiers of the King my Lord shall go out with her from the city *Magid* . . . No word is mentioned as to him or explanation before me; and now we two are sending. My reason (is) to assure her—*Ziza* the woman my wife—as to *Neboyapiza*, and she has not slept because of him. Behold the city of *Acca* like the city of *Makdani*¹ (is) with the Land of Egypt,

¹ This letter agrees with others preceding. *Neboyapiza*'s town *Kamid*, in Lebanon, was about sixty miles to the north-east of Accho, and *Ziza* was perhaps his sister or daughter, married to the king of an adjoining kingdom. The soldiers to be sent to Megiddo would obtain news, perhaps, of his fate, from a force on its way to *Yabis*, in Bashan, which his enemies reached after

and the King will not refuse and will send before me, and is it not that the King my Lord his *Paka*, and let him empower him.'

Letters from Hazor.

48 B. M.—'To the King my Lord by letter thus says *Iebaenu* (Jabin) chief of the city *Khazura* (Hazor) thy servant. At the feet of the King my Lord I bow, who behold am one of the faithful servants of the King my Lord; and all those who guard the city of *Hazor*,¹ with her fortresses belong-

taking Damascus. *Makdani* is probably the Megiddo of the Bible, on the way to Bashan, at the great ruin of *Mujedd'a*, near Beisân. The situation agrees with that of the city of *Makta*, or Megiddo, mentioned by the Egyptian traveller near the Jordan fords (Chabas, p. 207). The *Magid* . . of the previous passage is probably another spelling of the same name. The lady seems to have intended to go there with a guard, and perhaps to obtain a detachment to go to Kamid. In the lists of Thothmes III., Megiddo (*Makdi*) stands second, after Kadesh of the Hittites; and it was at Megiddo that the chief victory of Thothmes was won. It was then already a fortress which stood a siege, and was the key to the road from Accho to Damascus. The form *Makdani* is explained by the Megiddon of Zechariah (xii. 11); and this final *n* is represented by the guttural 'Ain of the modern Arabic *Mujedd'a*. There is no reason at all for placing the site at Legio, west of the plain of Esdraelon, a site which does not agree with any monumental notice, or with the Biblical accounts (see 'Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine,' vol. ii.).

¹ There were several Hazors in the north of Palestine. Perhaps the most likely site is the Hazor of the Egyptian traveller. It is mentioned as on a mountain (Chabas, p. 313), between Aksap (Achzib, north of Accho) and the Sea of Galilee. This might be

ing to the King my Lord; and let him expect this. Let him recall to the King my Lord all that the city *Hazor*—thy city, and thy servant is made to suffer.

47 B. M.—‘To the King my Lord thus (says) the King of the city of *Hazor*: I bow at the feet of my Lord. Lo! I am guarding the fortresses belonging to the King my Lord, until the arrival of my Lord my God; and lo! I hear all these messages, and I am departing O Sun God my God . . . and I am being brought low: the . . . that they have taken is increased, and the Gods have nodded to his revolt over me, and now I am causing all to be despatched till the coming of the King my Lord. Behold this, lo! they come . . . your envoy . . . very much . . . my Lord . . . safety . . . the city of *Hazor* . . . when the land . . . and all . . . Lo . . . Moreover behold . . . and my place . . . with soldiers.’

Unfortunately King Jabin does not mention the nationality of the enemy. From the Tyre letters

the *Hazor* which Joshua took (Josh. xi. 1) from Jabin, which was above the Hûleh. The name only remains, west of the probable site, in the Arabic *Jebel Hadireh*, a high mountain of Upper Galilee. The King of *Hazor*’s name is unfortunately not quite clear in the text, but seems to be either *Abdebaenu*, or more probably *Iebaenu* (Jabin). There was another Jabin of *Hazor* later on in history (Judges iv. 2). It was no doubt a family name.

he seems to have been an enemy of the Phœnicians, being perhaps on the side of Aziru; but the date of the present letters is not fixed by any reference to persons mentioned in the other letters. It is quite possible that the Hebrews, and not the Hittites, were his foes, since the Hebrew conquest took place in the lifetime of *Yankhamu* and *Suta*, who are noticed in the northern letters also. If he was a friend of *Aziru's*, the enemy, though enemies of Egypt, could not well have been Hittites or Amorites; and the name of the king is that of Joshua's enemy, Jabin of Hazor. It is clear that the Egyptians, though expected, were not in Hazor at the time. The kings of Hazor ruled Lower Galilee, where they had a force of chariots a century later. In Joshua's time (Josh. xi.) there were also many chariots in and near Hazor.

It is remarkable that none of the letters from Tell Amarna refer to Central Palestine. There is no mention of any town in Lower Galilee or in Samaria, except Zabuba and Megiddo. Taanach, Shechem, Jezreel, Dothan, Bethel, and other such places, are unnoticed, as well as Heshbon, Medeba, Rabbath-Ammon, Ramoth Gilead, and other places in Moab and Gilead. The Egyptians probably had no stations in these wild mountains, where their chariots could not pass. The Egyptian traveller mentions no town between Megiddo and Joppa in the time of Rameses II., and no towns in the regions of Samaria or Gilead or Moab occur in the list of places taken by Thothmes III.; nor were there any

stations in the Hebron mountains.¹ On the other hand, many places in Sharon and Philistia, and in the lower hills to the east, and in the Negeb hills south of Hebron, were conquered by the last-mentioned king, and are again mentioned by the traveller of the time of Rameses II., and these occur in the present letters. We are thus at once transported to the south of the country.

¹ The nearest places to Hebron seem to have been Nezeb, in the valley of Elah, easily reached by a broad, flat road, and on the south Kanana (*Kana'an*), a fortress taken by Seti I., which is only two miles south-west of Hebron. This was (if the identification be accepted) the limit of conquest (see Brugsch, *Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 13), when Seti (about 1366 B.C.) conquered the Beersheba plains, advancing by Rehoboth and Bethlebaoth. The land of Zahi was south of Hebron, and famous for its wine and trees (Brugsch, vol. i., p. 330), Hebron still possessing fine vineyards. But the Amorites of Hebron were never apparently disturbed by the chariots, and appear in these letters as marauders of Egyptian stations. There is no mention of any advance of the Egyptians into Moab, though Seir and Edom are noticed very early, when the Sinaitic copper-mines were being worked, and before chariots came into use. In the time of the twelfth and thirteenth dynasties, however, the political conditions in Syria were different. The Akkadian King Gudea—a Mongol—was ruling in 2500 B.C. in North Syria, and sent for granite to Sinai. At this time also, according to the Bible, there were Hittites in Hebron, who had been driven to the north by Ahmes about 1700 B.C. So that the population in 1500 B.C. seems to have been entirely Semitic.

VI.

SOUTHERN PALESTINE.

Letters from Joppa.

57 B. M.—‘To the King my Lord my God my Lord of Hosts, by letter thus (says) *Yabitiri* (Abiathar?) thy servant, the dust of the feet of the King my Lord my God my Lord of Hosts. Seven times and seven times I bow. As thou seest I am among the faithful servants of the King my Lord. I am arraying. But if I am arraying has not he been furious? and I am arraying before the King; and he has been furious. Shall the brick (letter) hide it under deceptions? But I will not conceal under deep sayings (*emiki*) to the King my Lord. And the King my Lord shall ask *Yankhamu* his *Paka*. Lo! I am a warrior, and I am casting down the rebellion, O King my Lord, and I am sending out from the pass belonging to the King my Lord. And let the King my Lord ask his *Paka* (“head man”). Lo! I am defending the pass (or great gate) of the city of *’Azati* (Gaza) and the passage of the city of *Yapu* (Joppa), and I myself

and the soldiers (*bitati*) of the King my Lord have marched to the lands. I myself (am) with them, and now, and lo! now, I myself (am) with them. The yoke of the King my Lord (is) on my neck and I will bear it.'

71 B. M.—The usual salutation from a servant



of the King, whose name is broken, but reads *Mus . . . ni*. 'I hear the messages of the King my Lord which he sends to his servant, hearing what is spoken by thy chief (*Ka*), and (it is) "Strengthen thou the fortresses of the King thy Lord which are with thee." Now they have minded the message of the King.

my Lord to me, and the King my Lord learns of his servant. Now *Biia* the son of the woman *Gulata*¹ was my of my brethren whom I am despatching to go down from the city *Yapu* (Joppa), and to be the defenders of the messengers returning to the King my Lord; and now *Biia* is the son of *Gulata*, he took them; and the King my Lord shall learn this message of his servant. Thus since the King my Lord said to me, "Make him leave thy city, on the appearance of *Biia*." He also indeed is made to leave; and both go, and indeed both are sent down O King my Lord day and night till they reach the place.'

Joppa is not mentioned in the history of Joshua's wars in the south, but the 'border before (east of) Japho' is noticed in the later topographical chapter (Josh. xix. 46).

Letters from Ascalon.

129 B.—'To the Great King my Lord *Dagantacala*² thy servant speaks. Seven times and seven times at the feet of the Great King my Lord I bow. And now behold *Dagantacala* is thy servant O Great King my Lord. He hears carefully the message of the Great King his Lord like my fathers, (and) what my fathers have not done for the Great King I have done for the Great King my Lord. And the

¹ *Gulata* is an interesting name to find in the south, as it may have some connection with that of *Goliah*.

² The sign of deity is attached to this name, showing that *Dagon*, the Philistine god, is intended; and it appears to mean 'Theu, *Dagon*, art a shield.' Compare *Yamirdagan* (B. 136).

Great King my Lord says to me, "Listen thou for us to the head man (*Ka*) thy governor."¹ I hear this carefully as to the chief governor, and the ruler knows it.'

74 B. M.—This begins with the same salutation from *Dagantacala*, and continues: 'Redeem me from the strong foes, from the hands of men of blood. The chiefs are hiding and the chiefs are flying, and redeem thou me O Great King my Lord. And the son of a dog has. . . . But thou (art) the Great King my Lord. Come down redeem me, and I shall rejoice because of the Great King my Lord.'

118 B.—From *Yadaya* of *Ascalon*, a captain of the horse of the 'King—the Sun from Heaven.' The usual salutation is much broken. The letter continues: 'Now I shall defend the places of the King that are with me. The strong chiefs who are not foes of the Law (or throne) have cherished greatly the King's *Paka*. Now both they and I listen to him very exceedingly—to the *Paka* of the King my Lord the Son of the Sun from the heavens.'

119 B.—From the same *Yadaya*, chief of the city of *Ascalon*, with the usual salutation. He is a captain of the horse and the dust of the King's feet. He continues: 'The trusty adherent—the chief of the King my Lord, who is sent by the King my Lord—the Sun from heaven—to me, I listen exceedingly much to his messages; now I will defend the King's land which is with me.'

¹ The word *Khazanu* is here used of an Egyptian official, but with the qualification 'chief *Ka*' introducing the Egyptian word. This agrees with the view that *Pa-ka* means 'principal man.'

121 B.—From the same writer, with the same salutations. ‘Now the King’s land which is with me is defended, and all that the King has sent to me they hear. The decree is very powerful. Who am I but a dog, and shall such an one not listen to the message of the King his Lord, the Son of the Sun?’

122 B.—From *Yadia*, the captain of the horse, with the usual salutation; it continues: ‘Now they guard . . . my. May the Gods of the King my Lord grant to all his lands not to be confounded. I hear the message of the King my Lord to his *Paka*. Lo! without resting he has caused the land of the King my Lord to be defended; and now establish O King my Lord one who is in favour in the sight of the *Paka* of the King my Lord, who is mighty in the sight of the King my Lord. He will work with joy to . . . whatever is (proclaimed?) by desire of the King my Lord. Now he will watch the land carefully.’

54 B. M.—From the same *Yadaya*, captain of the horse, with the usual salutation; it continues: ‘Now (they watch for a message?) of the King my Lord the Son of the Sun. And now I am sending drink, oil, sheep, oxen, beasts, to meet the soldiers of the King my Lord . . . with all for the soldiers of the King my Lord. Who am I—a dog, and shall such an one not hear the messages of the King my Lord the Son of the Sun.’

53 B. M.—The same salutation from *Yadaya*, captain of horse and ‘dust of the King’s feet.’ ‘Now they guard the land of the King my Lord, and the

King's chief city, as has asked the King my Lord—the Sun from Heaven. Behold what the King my Lord has said to his servant—to take arms: I am now sending to the King my Lord thirty bands to carry weapons. Moreover who am I but a dog, and shall such an one not hear the message of the King my Lord the Sun from Heaven? the Sun—Son of the Sun whom you adore.'

52 B. M. is very similar to 54 B. M. *Yadia* watches the land and the city, and is a dog unworthy to hear the King's message; he sends drink (beer, according to one value of the sign—and the Egyptians drank beer)¹ and oxen, and beasts, and (beans?), and all that the King requires for the soldiers.

It is to be remarked that Ascalon was not among the cities that Joshua took, but we learn that the region submitted to the Hebrews (B. 103) and Ascalon was lost before 1360 B.C.

Letters from Makkedah.

These letters appear to be early. They have been supposed to come from Megiddo, but the topography (III B. and 72 B. M.) cannot be reconciled with the latter, and applies exactly to the former town (now *El Mughâr*); in addition to which Megiddo appears as *Makdani* in the letter from Accho (95 B.).

¹ The sign meant originally 'cup.' It is remarkable that wine is not mentioned in the letters, unless the drink here noticed was wine. There was plenty of wine in Syria and in Hebron as early as 1600 B.C.

113 B.—‘To the King my Lord and my Sun by letter thus (says) *Biridi* a faithful servant, that I bow at the feet of the King my Lord and my Sun and my God, seven times and seven times. I have heard (literally, the servant has heard) the messages of the King my Lord and my Sun, and now they guard the city of *Makidah*, the chief city of the King my Lord.’ The text is broken, but seems to read probably ‘without rest, and is set right without rest they watch with chariots, and they guard with chariots of the King my Lord, from those who do injury. And now behold a battle of chiefs in (or from) the land (below Mizpah?).¹ The King is my Lord for his land.’

114 B.—‘To the King my Lord and my Sun by letter thus (says) *Biridia* Chief of the city *Makidda* a faithful servant of the King. At the feet of the King my Lord and my Sun seven times and seven times prostrated. I have been obedient then, zealous for the King thirty oxen they have gathered, and I (too) to fight.’

115 B.—*Biridia* sends the usual salutation without mentioning his city. The text is rather worn and broken, but may be read as follows: ‘Let the King my Lord know this. Lo! since the Egyptian soldiers (*bitati*) have gone down (or away) *Labaya* makes war against me and (without cause?) coming angrily and (without cause?). Thereupon the entrance

¹ The text is damaged. It seems perhaps to read *Citam Mizpi*. If this is right, Mizpah near Jerusalem might be intended, or it may mean ‘below the heights.’

(or gate) has been closed through the appearance of *Labaya*. Behold learn this, and there are no men of the Egyptian soldiers with us. So now it is desired to see them sent into the city of *Magiid(da)* and let the King see accordingly whether (it is to be) done. Let not *Labaya* seize the city. If there is no word the city will open its gates. (For two years?) he rebels; and will not the King grant this also—chiefs of his guard as defenders of his chief city. Let not *Labaya* take her, though those who have fled from *Labaya* have failed in this. Moreover those who disgraced the city *Ma* are slain.’

112 B.—‘To the King my Lord and my Sun thus *Labaya* thy servant, and the dust of thy feet. At the feet of the King my Lord and my Sun seven times seven times I bow. I have heard the message which the King sent to me; and who am I? and the King will afflict his country before me. (I swear?) I am myself a faithful servant, and I have not sinned, and I have not murmured at my tribute, and I have not murmured at the wishes of my friends (or subjects). Lo! this province my destroyers eat up, and I have had no food. The King my Lord (says) it is my fault. Once more he makes it my fault. Lo! I strive with the city *Gezer* (*Gazri*)¹ and I complain of the young men. The King one hears will march. I restrained the band of *Milcilu* and my band desirous to fight. The quarrel of *Milcilu* against me is relinquished; as to

¹ *Gazri* is the *Gezer* of the Bible, now *Tell Jezar*, at the foot of the Jerusalem hills.

Ben Zachariah the King has sent not to attack. Lo! *Ben Zachariah* with men of blood was known to us to march, and I marched, and we are conquering him. He gives up *Abukasu*. Once more he has made peace. The King has sent to my band (saying) "I order peace." I am desirous of peace, since the King has sent to me. Stay thy sword, ponder in thy heart, and is the peace hollow. Nay, the King's messages have been done.'

59 B. M.—'To the King my Lord and my Sun and my God thus *Yasdata* a faithful servant to the King, and (he is) dust of the King's feet. At the feet of the King my Lord and Sun and my God seven times and seven times I bow. Let the King my Lord know this. Lo! all whatsoever things the King my Lord judges for his servant him the chiefs of the city of *Tabu*¹ have slain an hundred of my oxen, and they have wasted me. And with *Biridia* I have caused (men) to go forth. Let the King my Lord know this as to his servant.'

This letter shows that the writer lived near *Biridia*, who was attacked by *Labaya*, and that the Hebron hills were inhabited by marauders.

72 B. M.—'Lo! a letter as to destruction of my brethren because of what the Gods of the King our Lord have done. And the people of *Labaya* are

¹ *Tabu* is probably *Taiyibeh*, seven miles north-west of Hebron, on a hill at the head of the valley of Elah. This fits in with the rest of the topographical notices.

conquered; and so we have ordered *Khaia*¹ that this be borne by him to the King our Lord. And a (company?) of my horse was placed, and the people are sent out after him, and he rides with *Yasdata* also till I come. And he is gone away to smite him, and now *Yasdata* is thy servant, and he strives mightily with me in battle array, and has not he the rule of the King my Lord, and let there be . . . to the King my Lord and *Zurata* is stopping the way of *Labaya* from the city *Makidda*. And he asked me to gather ships—my fleet, and it will go straight to inform the King; and *Zurata* marches on him and hinders him; from the city of 'Anana which is his. *Zurata* is damming the marshes. They have contrived a stoppage of the head (waters) from his drinking. Behold what thus I have done for the King my Lord. Lo! possession is possible for me, but it is difficult. My brethren (have become few?), but *Zurata* delays *Labaya*, and *Zurata* hinders *Addumemur* from them. And does not the King my Lord know this?

This letter (confirmed by 154 B.) shows that a town near the sea, not like Megiddo, inland, is intended. *Labaya* had apparently taken *Makkedah* from *Biridia*, who had been afraid of it (115 B.). The writer of the present letter was probably *Biridia* and he was perhaps blockading the province by sea on the west, while *Yasdata*, who was on the east

¹ Probably the same *Khaia* who appears in the north as an envoy to the Amorites—an Egyptian official.

(which agrees with 59 B. M.), blocked up the stream near 'Anana. This site would be the Enam of the Bible (Josh. xv. 34), which is thus fixed at the ruin of *Kefr 'Ain*, by the numerous head springs which feed the river *Rubîn*, which passes close to Makkedah on the south. The marshes here between the hills would easily be dammed, and the water supply of Makkedah (*el Mughâr*) so cut off. Makkedah is close to the only stream of perennial water south of Joppa, and stands high on a cliff, not far from the sea. It is in the centre of the province, the boundaries of which Labaya's sons describe (154 B.).

149 B.—‘(To the) King my Lord thus (says) *Addu(urbilu)* thy servant at the feet of my Lord I bow—to the King my Lord. And know thou, behold I have raised my what I desire as to *Milcilu*. Lo! my chiefs are going against his servants. As to *Takanu* a chief will march out to subject his servants for me.¹ And I have requited to this slave what they did to us.’ The letter then becomes broken, but refers to *Milcilu*, who was the King of Gezer. *Takanu* (or *Tagi*) is mentioned again in connection with *Givti* (B. 199).

61 B. M.—‘To the King (my master?) by letter thus (says) *Labaya* thy servant. I bow at the feet of the King my Lord. Lo! a message as to me. Strong were the chiefs who have taken the city. As when

¹ *Takanu* (see B. 199, 70 B. M.) lived near *Givti*, and perhaps was the chief of that town, which may be Gibeah of Judah, near the valley of Elah, south-east of Makkedah. It is mentioned with *Hareth*, which was close by Gibeah.

a snake coils round one, the chiefs, by fighting, have taken the city. They hurt the innocent, and outrage the orphan. The chief man is with me. They have taken the city (and he receives sustenance?). My destroyers exult in the face of the King my Lord. He is left like the ant whose home is destroyed. You (will be displeased?), but I have extended to the hand of her chief that which is asked of him: like me he is ruined and unfortunate; and this same taking of my city had been stopped if you had spoken against it. This wickedness (or foolishness) you caused, and thou hast destroyed thy city. They have desired to throttle (or persecute) us—the chiefs who have taken the city from him. It is the city of my fathers also (that) they persecute.'

154 B.—'To the King my Lord by letter thus (says) *Addurbilu* thy servant, at the feet of the King my Lord seven times and seven times I bow. The King my Lord will know the hate which is desired by the son of the sinful chief who hated me—the second son of *Labaya*. His face is estranged. I foresee estrangement of the land of the King my Lord. He has plotted as plotted (against me?) the chief who was his father; and the King my Lord shall know it. Lo! he has built a fort . . . against me. The second son of *Labaya* (says) "Why has a vain papyrus¹ taken from us the lowlands of the *Gittites*? . . . thy Lord, O city of those who be-

¹ Referring to the King's order on papyrus. In Dusratta's Hittite letter a royal decree on papyrus is also mentioned.

sieged the chief our father.” As I am saying speaks to us the second son of *Labaya*. He has made war for me with the chiefs of the Land of *Gina* (causing a chief our friend to be slain?). And when (there was) a battle he has not been confounded, and the fight was great, but he has made it his dwelling, bereaving me in the sight of the King my Lord: for he has made war in . . . of *Gina* (with?) the servants of the King my Lord. And truly alone of the chiefs exceeding strong (is) *Biruyapiza*.¹ (And thou shalt hear?) what is said as to him.’ The text becomes broken, but still refers to the doings of the second son of *Labaya*, and continues with an important passage on the back of the tablet:

‘And as I say speaks to us the second son of *Labaya* who is making war. “As to our possessions from the King thy Lord, lo! this is the boundary: over against the city of *Sunasu* and over against the city *Burku* and over against the city *Kharabu*. And behold the boundary of the dwelling of my race. So it was defined by our Lord; and it includes the city of *Giti Rimuna* (Gath Rimmon). And the King thy Lord is (breaking the bond of our . . .?).” And I answered him. It is known that he deprives me of it in sight of the King my Lord. Because of his making wars with the King my Lord—my King my Lord—I and my brethren have gone down as you heard of us by me. And did not the messenger of *Milcilu* speak to him before the face of the second son of *Labaya*? It was made

¹ *Biruyapiza* was probably the second son of *Labaya*.

complete. I foresee estrangement of the land of the King my Lord. They disturb a peaceful region, and in vain I repeat the letter about me. The guard of my Lord . . . to go down, and the King my Lord shall hear what the message says.'

This letter settles the site of Gath Rimmon (the full name of Gath, so called as standing on a height)—now *Tell es Sâfi*. The land of *Gina* was near the present *Umm Jîna*—probably Engannim of Judah (Josh. xv. 34)—in the low hills about six miles to the north-east. Sunasu is *Sanasin*, a ruin in the hills east of the valley of Elah. Burka is *Burkah*, in the plain north-east of Ashdod. Kharabu is *el Khurab*, a village east of Jaffa, and just north of the valley of Jaffa. Gath stood over the valley of Elah, and Burka close to the same. The province extended from the hills of Hebron to the sea, and from the valley of Elah to the valley of Jaffa; and just in the middle of this province was Makkedah.

III B.—A fragment of a letter from *Biridia*. He is a faithful servant, and sends the usual salutation. He has heard of (peace?), and he is marching. The son of *Labaya* is noticed, and there is a reference to gold. *Biridia* has already appeared as one of the enemies of *Labaya*.

73 B. M.—This seems to come from the same region on account of its topography. The letter is injured at the top, and probably not addressed to the King himself. 'I say the dog is marching . . . from their ravages against me. Now behold from (being loosed?) . . . from the wastings against

. Lo! consider thou thyself my chief cities.
 Mighty against me he has made
 to the city *Macdalim*.¹ And soldiers of the
 city *Cuuzbe*² have destroyed east of me. And now
 there is no commander to lead me forth from their
 hands. Moreover, *Abbikha* (or *Abbinebo*) smites my
 western region. They have sinned against me
 and all the passes he marches against
Abbikha'

Letters from Lachish.

124 B.—A broken letter from *Yabnilu*, of the city *Lacisa*.³ He is a captain of the King's horse, and sends the fullest form of the usual salutation. He listens to the messages of *Maya*, the Egyptian resident. The letter is remarkable for the final phrase: *Ana rasi anuma ibusu gabba*, 'Now all these

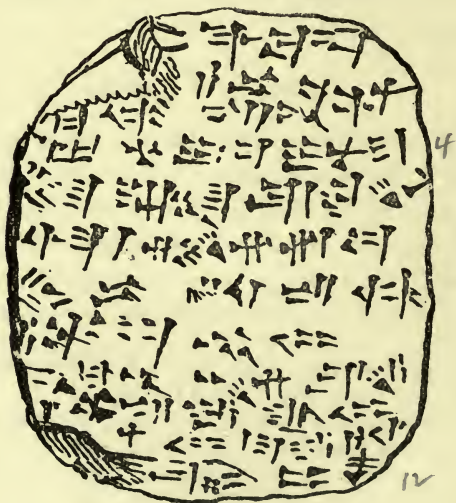
¹ Macdalim may be *Mejdel*, in the Philistine plain, which is still a place of importance, with a market.

² *Cuuzbe* is probably the Chezib of the Bible (Gen. xxxviii. 5), in the low hills east of Gath, now 'Ain *Kezbeh*. The marauders seem to issue from the mountains, destroying the commerce of the plains (compare 59 B. M.). Chezib is again mentioned (104 B.).

³ Lachish was wrongly placed by Robinson at *Umm Lakis* (spelt with the *Koph*, not the *Caph*). It was identified by me in 1875 (see 'Tent Work in Palestine' and 'Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine') at *Tell el Hesi*, and the letter found in the ruins has confirmed the identification, which rests on the distance from Beit Jibîn as well as on the name. The *Caph* and *Kheth* are occasionally interchanged, and *Elhesy* is probably a corruption of the name of Lachish. The site agrees well with the account and picture of the campaign of Sennacherib found at Nineveh.

things are on my head.' This is the common expression still used in Palestine by servants addressing a master. 'On my head' means 'I will obey,' and important documents—such as a Sultan's firman—are placed on the head of the person who receives them, in token of obedience.

TELL EL HESY TABLET.



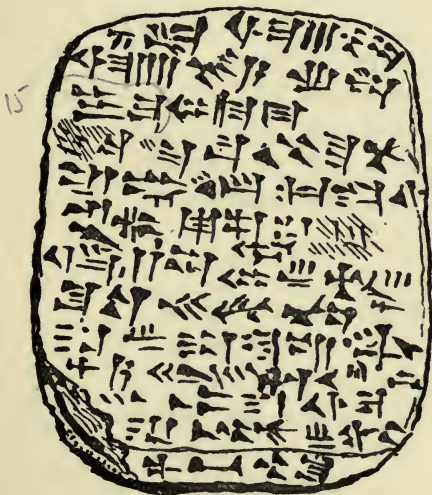
Front.

123 B.—'To the King my Lord my God my Sun—the Sun from the heavens—thus says *Zimrida* the chief of the city of *Lacisa* (Lachish) thy servant, the dust of thy feet. At the feet of the King my Lord—the Sun from the heavens, seven times and seven times I bow: the messenger of the King my Lord whom he sent to me—I hear his message, and am bound to obey it.'

Zimrida of Lachish is also mentioned in a letter from Jerusalem (184 B.). There is no reason to suppose that he was the same person as Zimridi of Sidon, whom we left hiding in the Lebanon.

The following letter was found, not at Tell Amarna, but by Mr. Bliss excavating the site of Lachish (*Tell*

TELL EL HESY TABLET.



Back.

el Hesi) for the Palestine Exploration Fund in 1892, and by aid of the preceding it serves to confirm my identification made in 1875. A copy of the tablet is attached for the consideration of cuneiform scholars. The following appears to be the transliteration:

FRONT.

1. (Ana) Amil rab AB
2. abi na
3. u ul is tab (ra ?)
4. lu ti i di i nu ma
5. zu ra tu URU At im
6. ū Zi im ri di
7. sepi BI ri is (mascanu ?)
8. a mur di mu mi
9. am cu cut khal im URU ZUN
10. amur is ya udu-mi
11. par mi cu ya A SI
12. na az za ri

BACK.

1. (?) ū III san thi
2. ū IIII mat ya ru di
3. i na mi LICCU
4. i na na ba u mat su-matu
5. URU Sum hi na sa ra si
6. si gi u gur (al lu ?)
7. zuru
8. (ū ?) a di mi lic ti XIII KHAS
9. sa KUL SIS rabu
10. sa ur ra ad is lul
11. mas a sepi khu-u-bi
12. . . . as tab ra ū
13. (Sar ?) ra u mat KUL LIC ya :
14. (li ?) ya bad mat su

The main interest in this short letter lies in the

notice of Zimridi, who (123 B.) was chief of Lachish, showing that the site where the letter was found is Lachish. My translation, depending on study of the cast of the inscription, differs considerably from that which has been published.

‘Is it not sent (as a message) to the great chief of the house of our fathers? Lo! truly thou knowest that they have fortified the city of *Atim*. And O Zimridi to the feet of him who is established as the chieftain behold humbly I bow. Supporter of cities behold! O Saviour of the people I have rent (my garments) yea entreaties for defenders of (?). And three years or four the foe (or dog) has been resting who desires my country. Now behold they have entered the land to lay waste. The city of *Sumhi* (or *Sum’a*) which we inhabit he is surrounding: he has gathered in order to besiege; and as far as this are going thirteen sections of our (tribe?). Strong (is he) who has come down. He lays waste. He has gone out with secret feet¹ I send and they have (arrayed?) the land of the race of my foe: may his land perish.’

It will be seen from the facsimile of the tablet that the signs are irregularly written, and many of them much worn, so that the translation is difficult, and uncertain in parts of the text.

This letter comes apparently from the low hills south-east of Lachish. *Atim* must be the *Etam* of the south of Judah (1 Chron. iv. 32), which I have placed at the ruin of *’Aitún*; and *Samhi* (or as it

¹ Marched stealthily.

may be otherwise rendered *Sam'a*) is the large ruin of *Sam'ah*, on the higher hills, which is five miles to the south of Etam. The letter is of great interest. The marauders, as in other cases, come from the Hebron hills. It also shows us that the communication by tablets in cuneiform script was not only usual in writing to Egypt, but in the internal correspondence of the country. The Phœnician alphabet had not as yet come into use, but the ruins of Palestine, no doubt, still contain other tablets of this age or of earlier times. The letter, though not as important in some ways as the Moabite stone and Siloam text, is one of the most valuable discoveries ever made in Palestine.

Letters from Gezer.

63 B. M.—‘To the King my Lord my God my Sun by letter thus (says) *Milcili* thy servant the dust of thy feet. At the feet of the King my Lord my God my Sun seven times seven times I bow. I hear what the King my Lord has sent to me, and the King my Lord despatches Egyptian soldiers (*bitati*) to his servants, and the King my Lord despatches (them) to dwell as guards. It is apportioned for my honour.’

108 B., with the same salutation, is broken. It appears to refer to despatching six females, five chiefs, sons of and five trusty chiefs led to the King.¹

¹ This letter is perhaps explained by another (104 B.), in which the King of Jerusalem sends his wives to Egypt with the Egyptian envoy, on account of the war with the Hebrews.

109 B.—Begins with the same salutation as the preceding, and continues: ‘The message of the King my Lord my God my Sun to me being brought, now his command they have done for the King my Lord—the Sun from heaven; and truly the King my Lord my God my Sun knows, that peaceful is the land of the King my Lord which is with me.’

110 B.—Begins with the same salutation, and continues: ‘The King my Lord shall know. Behold mighty is the war against me, and against *Suārdatā*;¹ but the King my Lord shall pluck his land from the hands of men of blood. Since there are none, the King my Lord shall despatch chariots to march to us you will restrain our slaves for us *Yankhamu* his servant’

This may refer to the submission of Gezer to the Hebrews mentioned in a letter from Jerusalem (B. 103).

62 B. M.—Begins with the same salutation as the preceding, and continues: ‘Know O King my Lord the demands made to me by *Yankhamu* since my going forth from before the King my Lord. Lo! he let him take from my hands. And they say to me (give us?) thy wife and thy sons. And does the King know this? And does the King my Lord demand despatch of chariots, and that I shall go to his presence? Nay! Let it be brought to nothing by thee.’

70 B. M., if not from Gezer, must come from near that town. It is written by *Takanu*, who is

¹ Chief of Keilah, whose letters follow.

mentioned in connection with Milcilu (149 B.) in a letter from near Makkedah, which was the next great town to Gezer on the south.

'To the King my Lord thus (says) *Takanu*¹ thy servant: at the feet of the King my Lord seven times and seven times I bow. Lo! I am the King's servant, and the guard of the whole of my roads was in the hands of my people, but they are now without refuge: they have not come up to guard my roads for the King my Lord; and ask the chiefs thy *Tarkas*,² if they are not now without refuge for my people. Moreover behold us. My eyes are towards thee when I beseech the God of heaven: for we are cast from the land, and have been needy. We have lacked at thy hand, and behold this now, the guard that guards my roads is in the hands of a chief who hates me because of the King my Lord, and the King my Lord shall instruct; behold send down a host and it shall watch.'

Though the date is doubtful, within limits, this letter probably refers to the departure of the Egyptian soldiers mentioned in the Jerusalem letters.

155 B.—A much-damaged letter. The name of the writer is lost. He sends the usual salutation,

¹ If *Takanu*'s town was Givti, and Givti was Gibeah of Judah, he is referring to the southern route by the valley of Elah.

² *Tarka* instead of *Paka*. In Egyptian the word *tar* means 'to drive' or 'compel,' preceding the sign of a man with a stick. *Tarka* is thus apparently an 'overseer' of the people.

and speaks of a letter : of transgression and sin ; and mentions the city *Gazri* (Gezer). He speaks of the going down of the king (or casting down), and of the *Paka*. (See Note.)

50 B. M.—‘To the King my Lord my God my Sun, the Sun from the heavens, thus (says) *Yapa’a*¹ the chief of the city of *Gazri* (Gezer) thy servant, the dust of thy feet, a chief captain of thy horse. At the feet of the King my Lord—the Sun from the heavens, seven times and seven times bow indeed both this heart and this body ; and whatever the King my Lord says to me I listen to exceeding much. I am the King’s servant, the dust of thy feet. And the King my Lord shall learn. Behold the chief of my brethren ; fellows foreign to me also strive for the city of *Mu(ra)’azi* ;² and the delivery of the same is the demand of men of blood ; and now behold what has arisen against me, and counsel as to thy land. Let the King send to the chief who is his friend against one (who is a foe ?).’

¹ *Yapa’a* is the same name as *Japhia*, mentioned as the King of Lachish (Josh. x. 3), who was the enemy of Joshua. He appears here as King of Gezer, and the King of Gezer is called in the Bible *Horam* (x. 33). The words Gezer and Lachish would not look unlike in the writing of the earlier Hebrew (about the Christian era), but it is not impossible that the two towns may have had the same king. Indeed, the letter seems to show this, as *Mer’ash* is near Lachish.

² *Mu(ra)’azi* seems clearly to be *Mer’ash*, the Hebrew Moresheth Gath (Micah i. 14). The modern name is nearer to the Amorite than to the Hebrew, having a guttural at the end ; and, as in other cases, the Amorite *z* stands for a Hebrew *s*. The site is south of Gath, and not far from Lachish, close to Beit Jibrîn.

49 B. M.—After the same salutation from *Yapa'a*, chief of *Gezer*, master of the horse, the letter continues: 'I hear the message of the messenger of the King my Lord exceeding much. And let the King my Lord, the Sun from heaven, counsel his servant as to his land. Now strong is the chief of the men of blood against us; and send thou to destroy him O King my Lord for me; and will not the King restore from the hand of the chief of bloody ones? We are not quite made an end of by the chief of the bloody ones.'

✓ 51 B. M.—With the usual salutation from *Yapa'a*, the letter continues: 'Whatever the King my Lord says to me I listen to him exceedingly. It is gracious. But as I fear what shall befall, help thou my region from the power of the people of the desert lands. And now I hear that the *Pauri* (chiefs; see the Jerusalem letter B. 103) of the King gather a multitude; and it suffices for me. And they have enlarged my heart very much.'

From these letters we gather that there had been a withdrawal of the Egyptian troops about the time when the 'desert people' attacked *Yapa'a*. That these desert people were the Hebrews under Joshua, who was the contemporary of Japhia, we learn more clearly from the Jerusalem letters. That Gezer submitted to them is also shown by the same.

Letters from Jerusalem.

105 B.—‘To the King my Lord thus (says) *Adonizedek*¹ thy servant at the feet of my Lord seven times and seven times Behold *Milcilu* is not rid from the sons of *Labaya*, and from the sons of *Arzaya*, as to their desire of the King’s land for themselves. A ruling man who makes demand thereof, why has he not asked it of the King? Lo! *Milcilu* and *Takanu* have desired the doing thereof. Lo! he has marched to it. Not having desired to strive’ The lower half of the front is here lost, and the rest is on the back.

‘So now, failing those who were chiefs of the garrison of the King, let me fly to the King.² Truly

¹ The name of the King of Jerusalem is rendered *Abdhiba* by Dr. Winckler, and *Abd Tobba* by Dr. Sayce. The second reading is possible in all cases but one (B. 102), when the sign used has not the syllabic value *Tob*, but only *Khi* or *Hi*. This would mean ‘servant of the Good One.’ *Adonizedek* was the name of the King of Jerusalem killed by Joshua (x. 3). It is to be remembered that many of the names in these letters are written not in syllables, but by ideograms. *Ribadda*’s name is hardly ever spelt syllabically, though it is rendered certain by the cases in which it is so spelt. I am inclined, therefore, to suppose that we have to deal, not with an unusual name, like *Abdhiba* or *Abdtobba*, which is unknown in history, but with the name of Joshua’s contemporary, spelt $US=Adoni$, ‘Lord,’ and $KHI+BA$, ‘good do’=*zedec*, ‘justice.’ There must, however, always be some doubt as to personal names, unless checked by variant readings.

² *Adonizedek* is meditating flight. His letters speak of a raid on Gezer, Ascalon, and as far as Lachish, after the taking of Ajalon by the Hebrews, but they say nothing of *Makkedah*.

Ben Piru (or *Ben Carru*) has fled his being led captive by my destroyers, he goes from the city '*Azati* (Gaza): let him remind the King in his presence of a garrison to guard the land. All the King's land is rebellious. *Yagu Balaam* is sent, and let the King's land know from the King's scribe Thus says *Adonizedek* thy servant the messages.'

102 B.—'To the King my Lord is mourning thus this *Adonizedek* thy servant. At the feet of my Lord, of the King, seven times and seven times I bow. What shall I ask of the King my Lord? They have prevailed, they have (taken the fortress of Jericho¹) they who have gathered against the King of Kings, which *Adonizedek* has explained to the King his Lord. Behold, as to me, my father is not and my army is not.² The tribe that has ground me in this

From the Book of Joshua we learn that after the battle of Ajalon the Hebrews pursued to Azekah, perhaps the ruin of *Zak*, east of Gaza, and to Makkedah (x. 11), and then returned to Gilgal (15). An interval of unstated duration occurred, while the five kings, *Adonizedek*, *Japhia*, *Hoham*, *Piram*, and *Debir* (ver. 3), fled to Makkedah, where they were found hid in a cave. It was during this interval, apparently, that these Jerusalem letters were written.

¹ The sign is unusual. The words are *icalu*, *ca-ar* (*Irhu*) *zabbatu*, or perhaps *icalu-ca ar(unu) zabbatu*. The latter would mean, 'They prevail over thee; they have been swift to seize.'

² 'I have no father and no army.' It either means this or 'Have I no father and no friend?' It might refer to his father's death, or to the King of Egypt not being his father and friend. Dr. Sayce renders 'neither father nor mother' (*SAL um* for *rag um*); but it is very unusual for Orientals to refer to their female relations or wives, though in the case of the King of Accho (95 B.) the writer speaks of his wife; but this is for a special reason (see also 104 B.).

place is very rebellious to the King, the same is struggling with me for the house of my father. Why has the tribe sinned against the King my Lord? Behold O King my Lord arise! I say to the *Paka* (resident) of the King my Lord, "Why should you tremble before the chief of the '*Abiri*'¹ (Hebrews) and the rulers fear the end? So now they must send from the presence of the King my Lord." Behold I say that the land of the King my Lord is ruined. So now they must send to the King my Lord, and let

¹ '*Abiri*. This is read by others *Habiri*, 'allies'; but the political circumstances do not agree with this explanation, and the sign is used throughout the letters for the guttural '*Ain* (as, for instance, in the name of Azzah or Gaza). There is no mention in the southern letters of Aziru, Abdasherah, Aitugama, or any of the northern allies; and the sign for 'allies,' or 'helpers,' in the northern letters is quite different. On the other hand, the '*Abiri* are never mentioned, except in the south, near Jerusalem. They are called people of the 'blood' or 'tribe' of the '*Abiri* (B. 106), and of the 'land' of the '*Abiri* (B. 199), showing that the term is derived from the '*Abarim*, or mountains east of Jordan. The *Abiru* chiefs are mentioned in the singular (B. 102, 104), and none of these facts can be reconciled with the view that they were 'allies.' They are distinctly said to have come from Seir (Edom) in one letter (B. 104), and to have left their pastures (B. 103), and are probably the 'desert people' of the Gezer letter (51 B. M.). Their actions are those recorded of Joshua's first campaign, and the date agrees, as does also the notice in the letters of Jabin, Japhia, and Adonizedek, the contemporaries of Joshua. Another suggestion has been that they were Hebronites; but in such case the *n* would not be absent, and the sign for city would no doubt occur. They have also been supposed to be Babylonians, but this is in direct contradiction to the relations noticed in the letters (see Appendix and B. M. 2) between Egypt and Babylon at this time.

the King my Lord know this ; behold the King my Lord has placed a garrison to stop the way (*Bel'amu* or *Yankhamu* ?) of kings chiefs of the garrison the king as master to his land as to his land she has rebelled, the (lands) of the King my Lord—the whole of it. *Ilimelec*¹ cuts off all the King's land. And let one warn the King as to his land. I myself speak pleading with the King my Lord and (for once ?) let the King my Lord behold the entreaties. And the wars are mighty against me, and (I am not receiving any pledge ?) from the King my Lord. And let an order return from the King (my Lord). Whether will he not order chiefs for garrison ? And let him be kind, and let the King my Lord regard the entreaties. This tribe behold O King my Lord has risen up. Lo the *Paka* they have expelled. I say the lands of the King my Lord are ruined. Dost not thou hear this same of me ? They have destroyed all the rulers. There is no ruler now O King my Lord. Let the King give his countenance to the chiefs ; and whether shall the chiefs of the Egyptian soldiers (*pitati*) remain at rest ? They have lingered O King my Lord. The lands are failing to the King my Lord. The *Hebrew* chiefs plunder all the King's lands. Since the chiefs of the Egyptian soldiers (*pitati*) have gone away quitting the lands this year O King my Lord, and since there

¹ *Ilimelec* is a name found in the Bible (Ruth i. 2 ; ii. 1) as the name of Ruth's father-in-law, a native of Bethlehem, in the time of the Judges. It is therefore a Hebrew name.

is no chief of the Egyptian soldiers (*pitati*) there is ruin to the lands of the King my Lord. They have . . . O King my Lord, and *Adonizedek* (is) dust messages (are asked ?) of the King my Lord, there is destruction by the foe of the lands of the King my Lord.'

This letter, like others, clearly indicates a withdrawal of the Egyptian troops shortly before the appearance of the Hebrews.

106 B.—The salutation is broken, but is the same as before—from *Adonizedek*. The text continues: ' which have done for me *Milcilu*, and *Suardata*,¹ for the land of the King my Lord. They have hired soldiers of the city of *Gezer*, soldiers of the city *Givti*² and soldiers of the city *Kielti*.³ They have gone out to (or seized) the city of *Rubute*.⁴ The King's land rebels to the chiefs of the *Hebrews*, and now against this capital city *U-ru-sa-lim* (Jerusalem) the city called *Beth Baalatu*⁵ a neighbour of the city

¹ *Milcilu* was the King of *Gezer*, and *Suardata* of *Keilah*; his letters follow. This represents the league of kings before the battle of *Ajalon*.

² *Givti* is probably one of the *Gibeahs*, perhaps *Gibeah* of *Judah*, now *Jeb'a*, south-west of *Jerusalem*, in the direction of *Keilah* (*Josh.* xv. 57), eight miles west of *Bethlehem*; unless we should read *Gimtzi*, in which case it would be *Gimzu* (2 *Chron.* xxviii. 18), now *Jimzu*, east of *Lydda*, and north of *Gezer*. The former reading seems the better (see 199 B.).

³ *Kielti* is *Keilah* (*Josh.* xv. 44), now *Kilah*, east of the valley of *Elah*, in the direction of *Hebron*.

⁴ *Rubute* is *Rabbah* of *Judah*, now the ruin *Rubba*, in the same district, four miles east of *Beit Jibrîn* (*Josh.* xv. 60).

⁵ *Beth Baalath* is probably *Baalath* of *Judah*, the old name of *Kirjath Jearim*, now *Erma*, in the valley of *Sorek*. The word

of the King—has rebelled, to delay the chiefs of the city of *Kielti*. Let the King hear as to *Adonizedek*; and will not he order Egyptian soldiers (*pitati*), and shall not the King's land turn to the King? And because there are no Egyptian soldiers (*pitati*) the King's land has rebelled to the chiefs of the tribe of the *Hebrews*. They have demanded to dwell in the same with me. They have gone out against (or seized) *Milcilu* and the city. . . . And let the King do justice to (or purify) his land.'

104 B.—The same salutation from *Adonizedek*. He continues: 'Lo! the King my Lord has established his law from the (rising?) of the Sun to the going down of the Sun. He is a flatterer who deceives as to me. Lo! am not I a ruler myself, a man allied to the King my Lord? Lo! I myself am a good chief of the King, and I have sent tribute to the King. There is no chief to join me, and my friends (or army) fail; they have been fighting for the King mightily. I remain . . in this *Beth Amilla*¹ from before me thirteen. . . . I am giving ten slaves *Suuta* the King's *Paka* (resident)

gur may either mean that the city was 'near' Jerusalem, or that it had been an ally of Jerusalem. It is clear that if the forces of the lowlands were marching to assist Jerusalem by the highway, past Kirjath Jearim, the revolt of that town would delay the forces from Gezer, which would naturally take that route.

¹ *Beth Amilla* is evidently the *Beth ham Millo* of the Bible (2 Sam. v. 9); 'house of the chief,' as we now know. It was the royal palace in the lower city (*Akra*), north of Zion. There was also a *Millo* in Shechem (Judges ix. 6, 20), evidently the palace of that city.

takes charge from before me of twenty-one slave women. Twenty chiefs who remain trusty to my hand *Suuta* has led away to the King my Lord,¹ which the King advises to his country. The whole of the King's country, which is seized from me, is ruined. They have fought against me as far as the lands of *Seeri* (Seir)² as far as the city *Givti Kirmil* (Gibeah of Carmel?).³ They have banded together against all the chiefs of the governments, and they have fought with me. Behold I, the chief of the lords (or of the Amorites), am breaking to pieces,⁴ and the King my Lord does not regard entreaties, while they have fought against me (unceasingly?). Behold array O mighty King a fleet in the midst of the sea. Thou shalt march to our land, the land of *Nahrina* and the land of *Cazib*, and behold these are fortresses of the King.⁵ Thou shalt

¹ When Adonizedek sent away his women he was preparing for his own flight, by the advice, it would seem, of Egypt. The Egyptian resident also retired. *Suta* has already been mentioned as an Egyptian official in the north (48 B.); he is also mentioned in a letter from Babylon (B. M. 4), and by the King of Accho, who was a contemporary of *Neboyapiza* and of *Aziru* (95 B.), which with other indications shows that Aziru's revolt was contemporary with the Hebrew invasion—at least, within a few years.

² This shows the enemy as coming from Mount Seir or Edom.

³ This *Givti* would seem to be one of the Gibeahs, unless we should read *Gimtzi* as before.

⁴ Perhaps this is capable of being rendered, 'I am breaking to pieces; the chief is becoming master.'

⁵ What is meant is that the Egyptians, having come by sea to Ascalon or Gaza, are to march to Jerusalem by the valley of

march against the chieftains of the *Hebrew*. There is not a single ruler for the King my Lord. They have destroyed all. Lo *Tuurbazu*¹ (is slaughtered? . . .): in the great pass of the city of *Ziluu*² they have bowed down. Behold *Zimridi* of the city of *Lachish*. The slaves have subjected him; they have done as they chose³ The region of *Rimmon*⁴ laments: slaughter (is) in the midst the fort of *Zilu* is overthrown let the King take heed let the King give his countenance to Egyptian soldiers (*pitati*) to the land. . . . Since there are no Egyptian soldiers (*pitati*) in this same year destruction has destroyed the people of

Elah, the highway by which the Philistines came up against Saul. *Cazib* (Chezib) is in this valley, now 'Ain *Kezbeh*; and north of it is a valley with the unique name *Naheir*, 'the little river.' The road becomes difficult when the valley of Elah turns to the south, which is alluded to in the next letter (B. 103). For Chezib see also 73 B. M.

¹ *Tu-ur ba-zu* appears to be spelt phonetically, but does not sound like a Semitic name. If it were taken as an ideogram it might be rendered *Ben Zicaru*.

² *Zelah* has been proposed (Heb. *Ze'la*), but the final sign does not seem to be used to represent the 'Ain. There were two *Zelahs*, one being Petra, the other north of Jerusalem (now probably the ruin of *Salah*); it appears to me more probable that Shiloh is intended. The Amorite *z* or *š* occasionally stands for a Hebrew *sh*; and the modern name *Seilân* has always presented the difficulty that the *s* is not the proper representative of the Hebrew *sh*. Perhaps, as in other cases, the peasant pronunciation represents the Amorite rather than the Hebrew sound. Shiloh is remarkable for the great pass it commands.

³ There was a siege of Lachish by Joshua (Josh. x. 33).

⁴ *Rimmon* is probably the *Rimmon* of Benjamin, not far south of Shiloh, now the village of *Rummon* (Judges xx. 45, etc.).

all the lands of the King my Lord. Do not they say to the face of the King my Lord, "Behold the land of the King my Lord has been ruined, and all the rulers have been slain, within this same year." Will the King not order his *Paka*? And let the fleet come to me as helpers, and let them take care of the port (with the King commanding?) (to) the scribe of the King my Lord. (lo!) *Adonizedek* is his servant, at his feet (he bows). Translate the messages now to the King. I am thy myself.'

103 B.—The salutation is much broken, but part of the name of *Adonizedek* is left. It then speaks of messages, and continues: "Let him know that they have fought all the lands that have been at peace with me; and let me warn the King as to his land. Lo! the land of the city of *Gezer*, and the land of the city of *Ascalon*, and the land of the city of (*Lachish*?) they have given (or settled) for themselves. Corn and oil (or fruit), and all things, this race has altogether gathered. And let me warn the King as to Egyptian soldiers (*pitati*). Will not he order Egyptian soldiers (*pitati*) against the chiefs who have done wrong to the King my Lord? Since within this year the Egyptian soldiers (*pitati*) have gone away, and quit the lands, the ruler of the King my Lord—since there were no Egyptian soldiers—(*pitati*) is brought to nought. Yea and the rulers of the King. . . . Behold the land of the city of *Jerusalem*.¹ No man is my subject. No

¹ The name spelt in other cases *U-ru-sa-lim* is here spelt *Uru-sa-lim*, showing that the usual explanation, 'city of peace,'

people is subject to me. His tribe is arrayed (or prepared). They are not subject to me. Lo! my desire is the same as the desire of *Milcilu* and the desire of the sons of *Labaya*, that the chiefs of the *Hebrews* be subject to the King's land. Lo! the King my Lord will be just to me, because the chiefs are sorcerers.¹ Let the King ask his *Pakas* (or let one ask of the King's *Pakas*). Lo he is strong, very (determined?) and (men) have feared. The sinful fort (or camp) is very arrogant. They have burst forth from their pasture (or border) and to the land of the habitation of the people (nigh?) Will not there be sent from the land (of Egypt?) (soldiers?): thou shalt come up with . . . let the servants be defended to them. The tribe is pouring out lands from the city of *As(calon)*. Let the King ask about them. Plenty of corn, plenty of fruit (or oil), plenty. Up to the province of my Lord *Pauru*² the King's *Paka* for the land of the city of *Jerusalem* my

is probable. It has been proposed to translate 'city of the God Salim,' a deity who is not known otherwise; but in these letters the names of Gods have the prefix AN ('deity'), which does not occur in any instance in the name of the city. The word *salim* for 'peace' has just been used in the letter, and occurs elsewhere in these letters.

¹ *Casipi*. It has been read *Casia*, 'Cushites,' but the word before is in the plural, and the plural could not end in *a*. Any great success is still attributed to sorcery in the East. It may, however, only mean 'malicious,' according to its use in Hebrew.

² There was an Egyptian known to history who bore the name of *Paur* (Brugsch, Hist., i., p. 462); he was a governor in Nubia, somewhat later than the present events. The name,

foe is rebelling. Up to the chiefs of the garrison this chief has surged up. Let the King's (foe) perish by the King . . . for me my foe . . . revolted from me. Do not desert this . . . send me a chief of garrison—a *Paka* of the King, despatched to this thy people. (The women?) are despatched¹ to the King my Lord (with) men who have been upright. Four messengers² . . . to go out. The chiefs of the fort (or camp) are closing the roads of the pass the tribe who have caused the destruction of the city of *Ajalon*.³ Let this be known to the King my Lord. Have not I shown the people despatched a road for the King, though it is not easy?⁴ Lo! the King my Lord has established his law in the land of the city of *Jerusalem* forever, and is not the desertion of the lands of the city of *Jerusalem* manifest? To the scribe of the King my Lord this lamentation thus (speaks) *Adoni-*

however, must have been common, since *Paur* stands for *Paka* in some cases. It has been already explained as an Egyptian word.

¹ The participle is feminine.

² There had been four previous letters, agreeing with my arrangement.

³ *Ajalon* (now *Yālo*) is at the foot of the Bethhoron pass, where the battle against the five kings occurred. The women were apparently sent away before the battle of *Ajalon*, after which the easiest road to the plains, by Bethhoron and *Ajalon*, was closed. The flight of Adonizedek took place, according to the Biblical account, after the battle of *Ajalon*, while Joshua was at Gilgal, where the news was brought.

⁴ This appears to be the meaning, and refers to the road,

zedek thy servant—the afflicted. Translate the messages well to the King my Lord. O, scribe of the King my Lord (I am) afflicted, greatly am I afflicted. And thou shalt perform the desire of our people before the chiefs of the land of Cush¹ (*Casi*). Truly is not there slaughter with us? Thou shalt make it clear to the chiefs of the land of Cush (*Casi*) midst of my land the people to take the King to seven times and seven times my Lord to me.’

199 B. appears to be from *Adonizedek*, and speaks of *Jerusalem*. Only the lower third of the tablet remains. The clay is different to that of the preceding, and it may have been written after the city was left.

‘And lo now! the city of *Jerusalem* when these went away from the land (was) faithful to the King. Lo! the city of *Gaza* has remained to the King. Behold the land of *Harti Cirmiel*² belonging to *Takanu* and the men of the city *Givti*,³ they have bowed down, going away from the land quietly.

mentioned in the last letter, by the valley of Elah—less easy than that by Ajalon.

¹ *Casi* or Cush, as in Egyptian records, appears to mean Upper Egypt. See what has been said as to this name in Ribadda’s letter (61 B.).

² *Harti Cirmiel* is evidently Hareth Carmel, representing the Hebron country from Hareth (*Kharas*), on the north-west, above the valley of Elah, to Carmel of Judah on the south-east. This would agree with placing *Givti* at *Je’b’a*.

³ Apparently the southern Gibeah of Judah, mentioned before (106 B.). Dr. Sayce reads Gath, but when Gath is mentioned it is called *Giti* (154 B.).

And truly we do so (or but whether do we do so?). Behold *Labaya*!¹ and the land *Salabimi*² are inhabited by the *Hebrew* chiefs. *Milcilu* has sent for (tribute?)³ and the fellows (say) "Have we not indeed dwelt in (or spoiled?) this land?" They are adjudging all that they desire to the men of the city of *Keilah*. And truly we are leaving the city of *Jerusalem*. The chiefs of the garrison have left—without an order—through the wastings of this fellow whom I fear. These march to *Addasi*.⁴ He has remained in his land (or camp) in the city of *Gaza* (women?) . . . to the land of Egypt'

This letter was written apparently after the defeat of Ajalon, perhaps from Makkedah, where the kings hid in the cave. It is clear from this correspondence that when they fled, after sending away their harems, the intention was to reach Egypt. Gaza is not mentioned as taken by Joshua, and it was here that they expected to find safety.

¹ Labaya may mean, according to a common form of expression, the land of Labaya.

² *Salabimi*, Shaalbim (Judges i. 35; 1 Kings iv. 9) or Shaalabbin (Josh. xix 42), is probably *Selbît*, lying south-east of Lydda, near Ajalon.

³ In Judges i. 35 we read of the Amorites remaining in this district.

⁴ This name may be read various ways, as Addamaru or Abu Amaru. Perhaps the name Ithamar may be compared (Exod. vi. 23; xxviii. 1). See also Yabitiri of Joppa (Abiather?).

Suyardata's Letters from (Keilah ?).¹

69 B. M.—‘To the King my Lord my God my Sun by letter thus (says) *Suyardata* thy servant, the dust of thy feet. At the feet of the King my Lord my God my Sun seven times and seven times I bow. The message which is sent by the King my Lord the Sun from heaven (has come ?). His order shall be done for the King my Lord the Sun from heaven.’

67 B. M.—Is a broken letter. It appears to begin as follows: ‘To the King my Lord thus (says) this *Suyardata* thy servant: at the feet of the King my Lord seven times and seven times this soul and this body bow. An announcement to the King my Lord that I am causing one to make to bring all the soldiers of the King my Lord; and now this *Ra*² the overseer, my prince, has caused the countries of the King my Lord to be stripped. I am sending them to the King; to (inform myself?) of the King, I am sending to the King my Lord. Let him know this. Who are we of the King my Lord to the hands it is ruled.

¹ The only difficulty in identifying this place, *Ci el-ti*, with Keilah lies in the spelling with *Caph* instead of *Koph*. The name contains the required guttural found in the Hebrew; this has disappeared from the modern name *Kilah*. The sign for *Ki* does not seem to be used in these letters; and there are several other instances of confusion of the two letters, as when *Ka* is written for *Ca*, ‘thee,’ in a few cases.

² *Ra* is apparently an Egyptian name. The order for withdrawal of the troops appears to have arrived.

At the feet of the King my Lord seven times and seven times I bow.'

100 B.—' to the King my Lord my Sun . . . letter thus (says) *Suyardata* thy servant, the dust of thy feet : at the feet of the King my Lord my God my Sun seven times seven times I bow. O King (the message ?) is despatched by me, as to there having been made a war. With the city of *Cielti* (Keilah) I am warring.¹ My chief city has gathered and has turned to me : against which has sent *Adonizedek* who is greedy of silver—against the chiefs of the city of *Keilah*. And they have marched on me behind (or to the west of) me. And know O King my Lord lo! he is marching—*Adonizedek*—to remove my city from my hands. Let the King ask if he is marching—this chief; and if there is one ox or a beast before him.² And *Labaya* has deserted his faith. The weak (or the gate) he is marching against we have succoured. But now *Labaya* is with *Adonizedek*. I march to a city of my brethren Know O King as to his servant. Order thou this my desire. And do they not gather? They have

¹ This quarrel between the King of Jerusalem, the King of Makedah, and the King of Keilah is probably early, before the appearance of the Hebrews ; for Adonizedek says that the sons of Labaya (B. 103) were his contemporaries at that time, and Suyardata becomes his ally (B. 106) in presence of the common danger. If 'behind' means to the west (the front being always the east), the attack was from the valley of Elah. Keilah has very rough mountains on the east, and is easily reached on the west.

² The meaning seems to be that Adonizedek had seized the flocks and herds.

put all to shame. The news (is true?): let there be an order of the King for his servant.'

. 107 B.—Begins with the same salutation from *Suyardata*. It is much injured, but the following words are clear: 'Know O King my Lord lo! his land has the city of *Keilah* against me, chiefs the our ruler and truly we against them; and truly we guide the friendly chiefs from the land of the King my Lord.'

It seems from this that the previous letter brought assistance to the writer.

68 B. M.—Perhaps earlier than the preceding; reads: 'To the King my Lord my God and my Sun thus (says) *Suyardata* thy servant: seven and seven times this soul and this body bow. Let the King my Lord learn. I am one (put to shame?) There shall be Egyptian soldiers (*bitati*) despatched of the King my Lord. I am hard pressed; and consider thou me (come out to me?) and I shall be established by the King my Lord.'

101 B.—With the usual salutation is from *Suyardata*, and, though broken, appears to read: 'It is my desire to approach, as taking refuge with the King my Lord. Who am I to regard (being seen?)? Let me approach the King my Lord with these things (articles) of silver—and the silver is pure. O King my Lord *Yankhamu* (is) thy right hand; and I am mourning for him, since, wholly having gone away, no Egyptian soldiers (*bitati*) will come back to me from the King my Lord. Let the King my Lord

learn how thirty temples of the gods he has put to shame—he who fights against me. I am left alone. Mightily he has fought against Give me rest O King my Lord from his hand. The King my Lord shall send Egyptian soldiers (*bitati*). Now *Yankhamu* also has returned to the house of the King my Lord. He shall come back—soldiers of the King my Lord with him. Mighty is he who has fought against *Suyardata* and (men) fail.’

The enemy must have been of another race to destroy the temples. The letter is valuable because it shows that *Yankhamu* was a contemporary of *Suyardata*, who was contemporary with *Adonizedek*, for *Yankhamu* was also contemporary with *Aziru*, who was living about twenty years after the death of Thothmes IV.

Letters of the Lady Basmath.

137 B.—‘To the King my Lord my God my Sun by letter thus (says) the Lady whose name is *Basmatu*,¹ thy handmaid. At the feet of the King my Lord my God my Sun, seven times seven times, I bow. Know O King my Lord behold! there has been war in the land, and the land of the King my Lord has been wearied by rebels, by men of blood.

¹ Basmath, meaning ‘balsam’ or ‘sweet,’ was no doubt a common woman’s name. It occurs as the name of Ishmael’s daughter whom Esau married (Gen. xxxvi. 3, 4, 13), and as that of one of Solomon’s daughters (1 Kings iv. 15). She may have been the wife of Milcilu, King of Gezer, and pleads for her sons after her husband’s death. He had apparently been seized by the Hebrews (B. 106).

And know O King as to his land, and know my foolishness (or disgrace). Behold the men (or chiefs) of blood have sent to the city of *Ajalon*, and to the city of *Zar'a* (Zorah),¹ and (this is) to show that there is no place of refuge for the two sons of *Milcilu*; and know O King my Lord this request.'

138 B.—'To the King my Lord my God my Sun by letter thus (says) the Lady whose name is *Basmatu*, thy handmaid, the dust of thy feet, and at the feet of the King my Lord my God my Sun seven times seven times I bow. Let the King my Lord pluck his land from the hands of the men of blood. Am not I tired marching to the town of *Zabuba*; and because of not resting O King my Lord?'

There is only one place in Palestine called *Zabuba*; it is the *Sububa* of the fourteenth century, the modern *Ezbuba*, south of *Taanach*, west of the plain of *Esdraelon*. Poor *Basmath* had to go some sixty miles by road to reach it from her home. This interesting little letter, which shows she was not one of the ladies sent to Egypt, though probably a person of importance, seems perhaps to indicate that the central part of the country, from which no appeals for help occur in the letters, was undisturbed. The Amorite-Hittite league came down to *Bashan* and to *Tyre*, but not apparently as far as *Accho*. The Hebrews, on the other hand, coming from *Seir*, are said to have gone as far north as *Rimmon* and *Shiloh*, but were mainly fighting southwards from

¹ Zorah, now *Sur'ah* (Josh. xix. 41; Judges xiii. 2, etc.), was not far south of *Ajalon*, and near *Gezer* on the south-east.

Ajalon. Between the two theatres of war lay the whole of Samaria and Lower Galilee, in which Basmath found a refuge.

Other Letters from the South of Palestine.

136 B.—‘To the King my Lord (my God?), the Sun from heaven, by letter thus (says) *Yamirdagan* thy servant: at the feet of the King my Lord seven times seven times I bow. I hear the message of the King my Lord to me, and now I will guard the city of the King my Lord till the coming of a message of the King my Lord for me.’

Comparing the name with that of Dagontacala of Ascalon, it appears that this writer was probably a Philistine.

151 B.—A letter from the ‘Chief of the town *Naziba*’ to say he goes with his chariots and horses to meet the King’s soldiers. This place must, therefore, have been in or near the plains. It may be the *Nezib* of the Bible (Josh. xv. 43), now *Beit Nusib*, eight miles north-west of Hebron, close to Keilah. The chariots could easily reach this vicinity from the plain, by the broad flat highway of the valley of Elah.

55 B. M.—With the usual salutation, *Ben Addu*, captain of the King’s horse, says: ‘Now they watch the land of the King my Lord exceedingly. And who am I—a dog He will hear the messages of the King my Lord and of the *Ka-pa* (for *Paka*?) of the King my Lord. To (*Sagusi Khasi*?) thus (says) *Ben Addu*: I bow at thy

feet. All is failing. So now those who are our friends are fleeing to the King; will not he despatch the road Now they guard the road: it is cleared for thee.'

56 B. M.—The usual salutation from *Ben Addu*, of the city of *Pitazza*; continues: 'Now they guard the city, and land of the King my Lord, the Sun from heaven: all that the King has said they watch—the allies. And the decree of the message of the King my Lord *Bel Anapa* (Baal Anubis) the *Paka* of the King my Lord has uttered. The King my Lord is mighty as the Sun in heaven. Who am I but a dog, and shall such an one not mind the message of the King my Lord the Sun from heaven?'

153 B.—From the same *Ben Addu*, of *Pitazza*, with the usual salutation, and to the same effect as the preceding, but too broken to read.

The only site which seems to be suggested by *Pitazza* is the important ruin of *Futeis*, south-east of Gaza. It is near the road to Egypt and in the plains. The letters probably refer to arrangements for the flight of the kings of Jerusalem and Gezer, or of their wives.

77 B. M.—A short broken letter by *Satiya*, who was apparently chief of the city (or chief town) of *Eni-Saam(si)*, which is perhaps En-Shemesh, close to Zorah, in the valley of Sorek, now '*Ain Shems*. It is the Ir-Shemesh of the Bible (Josh. xix. 41), otherwise Beth-Shemesh (Josh. xv. 10). Here, again, we find an Egyptian station in an open valley, on one of the main roads to Jerusalem.

133 B.—‘To the King my Lord by letter thus (says) the chief of *Kanu* thy servant: at the feet of the King my Lord seven times and seven times I bow. Thou thyself hast sent to me, to muster to meet the Egyptian soldiers (*bitati*); and now I with my soldiers and with my chariots (am) in sight of the soldiers of the King my Lord, as far as the place you will march to.’

This town cannot well be any of the Kanahs of Palestine, since the word would then be *Kanatu*. It is more probably the important ruin *Kanya*, close to Rabbath of Judah, immediately west of the valley of Elah; chariots would be possible in this vicinity.

Letters from Uncertain Sites.

33 B. M.—‘To the King my Lord by letter thus (says) *Abd Istar* (?)¹ the King’s servant. At the feet of the King my Lord I bow, seven times at the feet of the King my Lord, and seven more, both heart and body. And this is to show the King my Lord how mightily he fights against me, and destroys the rulers from the presence of the King my Lord; and the great King shall give orders for my defenders. Moreover it sends messages to the King my Lord as to me, and I shall hear all the messages of the King my Lord. I will listen. Now ten women (concubines?) I am retaining.’

Perhaps these were some of the ladies on their way to Egypt: *tumiki* seems to come from the root

¹ This name cannot be identified, as has been proposed, with that of Abdasherah, since Ashtoreth and Asherah are different words.

wamak, an Arabic root meaning 'to love.' The Amorite words with an initial *van* are nearer to Arabic than to Hebrew or Aramaic. One of the commonest is *uras*, 'to desire' or 'ask,' whence one of the names of Istar, the Goddess of desire.

34 B. M.—Is a short letter broken at the end; it merely acknowledges a message, and is from *Abd Astatî*. There was a deity *As*, or *Ast*, apparently of Egyptian origin.

60 B. M.—'To the King my Lord my Sun my God thus *Mayaya*.' The important part of this short letter is broken, but it appears to say: 'Have not they devoured *Yankhamu* this conquest of all the lands from men of blood, and the devouring of thy land.'

65 B. M.—(*Sibtiaddu* ?) writes as a servant of the King with the usual salutations, and has heard the message. 'Behold what *Yankhamu* (says). I am a faithful servant at the foot of the King. Let the King my Lord know it. I guard much the King's city which is with me.'

147 B.—From (*Khiziri* ?), the King's servant. He will meet the soldiers, and has received a message from *Maya* about a tax.

148 B.—*Ruzbanya*, of *Taruna*, is a servant of the King. The letter is broken. He was of old a servant of the King.

150 B.—From *Nurtu* . . . He listens to the *Paka*, and will fortify until the King comes to his tribe. He fills a good-sized tablet, without giving any information of interest.

76 B. M.—*Zidriyara* writes, with the usual compliments, to acknowledge a message.

141 B.—*Zidriyara* is faithful, as of old, and a friend of the rulers, and listens to all the King's messages.

140 B.—*Zidriyara* hears the message of the King, whose servant he is—'the Sun from among the Heavenly Gods who has spoken'—and he will not neglect the messages of the King his lord, or of the *Paka* who is established with him.

135 B.—Apparently without a name. He is only a dog, but will march with chariots and horses to meet the Egyptian soldiers (*bitati*).

130 B.—*Sutarnamu*, of his city *Zicaruenu*,¹ bows to the King. He asks for soldiers of garrison, as they are obstructing the district of the King's land near him. Probably the site is the present village *Dhikerîn*, near Gath on the south, which was the Caphar Dikerin of the Talmud (Tal. Jer. *Taanith* iv. 8), in the region of Daroma (now *Deirân*), near Ekron (see Ekha ii. 2). He asks for soldiers.

131 B.—*Samuaddu*, of the town of *Sama'una*, listens to all the king's messages. Perhaps *Sam-mûnieh*, an ancient and important ruin immediately east of Kirjath Jearim ('*Erma*), on the way to Jerusalem, by the valley of Sorek, is the place intended.

Nos. 79, 80, 81, B. M., are short and broken letters,

¹ If it is to be read simply as a syllabic name, it would be perhaps *Musihuna*. There is a *Mes-hah*, 'place of unction,' in Lower Galilee. I have here supposed *huna* to come from the root *hana* (Heb. *hanah*), 'to inhabit.'

which appear only to acknowledge messages received. No. 80 is from a certain *Nebo* . . .; in No. 79 there appears to be no personal name, and in No. 81 it is destroyed.

The names of these villages establish a regular chain of posts from Gaza, by Lachish, to the valleys of Sorek and Elah, which seem to have been the most eastern parts of the country in which chariots were to be found. There is no mention of chariots at Jerusalem, or at any village which was not accessible by a flat valley-road. By these posts communication was kept up, it would seem, with Jerusalem; and the messengers probably travelled by this route, avoiding Ajalon. It was by this route that Adonizedek proposed that Amenophis should come up to help him. Whether any such expedition was attempted, none of the letters seem to indicate. The troops had been withdrawn, and the Egyptian policy seems to have been to call out the native levies of the Amorite charioteers. Perhaps, when the five kings had been killed at Makkedah, no further steps were taken, but the lowlands remained unconquered till the time of Samuel and David. Even in Solomon's time Gezer was only received as the dower of the daughter of the Pharaoh (1 Kings ix. 16) who had burned the place and killed its Canaanite population. In Judges we read that Judah 'could not drive out the inhabitants of the Shephelah (or lowlands) because they had chariots of iron' (i. 19). The coast road was still open when Dusrattia was writing to his son-in-law Amenophis IV. twenty years later; and all

Lower Galilee was, for some few years, with Philistia and Syria, reconquered by Rameses II., who, however, never entered the Judean mountains.

This concludes the sum of 176 letters from Palestine, the translation of which has occupied me for nearly two years. I have no doubt that it may be improved upon in detail; but the general results seem to be too well corroborated, by comparison of the numerous epistles, which throw light on one another, to admit of any very important changes.

VII.

ROYAL LETTERS.

Dusratta's Letters.

9 B. M.—‘To *Neb-mat-ra* (Amenophis III.) King of *Egypt* my brother, by letter, thus *Tuseratta*¹ King of *Mitani*² thy brother. I am at peace. Peace be to thee; to *Gilukhipa* my sister be peace. To thy house, thy wives, thy sons, thy Lords, thy terrible army, thy horses, thy chariots, and in thy land, be much peace. Since I have sat on my father's throne, and have conquered. But (*Pirkhi*?) made a lawless command in my land, and smote his Lord; and because of these things, they have striven to right me, with who so loved us well; and because my land submitted to this lawless order I was not

¹ *Tuser Atta*, a Mongol name, ‘father of conquest.’ *Artu Sumara* appears to mean ‘destroying hero.’

² *Mitani* or *Matiene* (Herod. I. 72, 189, 202; III. 94; V. 49, 52; VII. 72) extended from the sources of the Araxes to the Halys river, and thus included all Armenia west of lake Van: other names for the region were, the ‘land of *Khani Rabbe*’ (or *Khani Rabbatu*), and the ‘Land of the Minyans.’ (See 27 B.)

afraid, but the chiefs who supported *Artasumara* my brother, with all that were theirs, I slew. As thou wast well with my father, and because of these things, I send this. I say to you, as my brother hears, and will rejoice; my father loved thee, and thou therefore didst love my father; and my father, as he saw this, gave thee my sister; and now . . . as thou wast with my father. When my brother saw these things, he brought all those in the land of the *Hittites* as foes to my land; and *Rimmon* my Lord gave them to my hand; and I slew him among them, so that not one returned to his land.¹ Now I have sent thee a chariot with two horses, a young man and a young woman, of the spoil of the land of the *Hittites*. I have sent thee, as a present to my brother, five chariots, and five yoke of horses; and as a present to *Gilukhipa*² my sister, I have sent her (trinkets?) of gold, a pair of gold earrings, and . . . of gold, and goodly stones, each (?). Now *Gilia*, a prudent man, and *Tunipripi*,³ I send to my brother; speedily let him reply to me; so I shall hear my brother's salutation, and shall rejoice. Let my brother wish me well; and let my brother send envoys: so my brother's salutation shall come to me, and I shall hear.⁴

¹ The Hittites clearly did not live in Matiene, but in the adjacent country of Northern Syria.

² *Gilukhipa*, a Mongol name, 'possessing glory.'

³ *Gilia* and *Tunipripi*, Mongol names, 'glorious' and 'very reliable.'

⁴ This may be dated late in the reign of Amenophis III., as Dusratta survived him.

22 B.—The salutation calls Amenophis III. his ‘kinsman,’ but does not name his sister.

‘*Mani* my brother’s envoy has come to honour me: to take my brother’s wife the Queen of *Egypt*;¹ and I received the letter that came: I learned the declaration of his (order?). My heart has been much gladdened by my brother’s message, as my brother will see; and it rejoiced that day exceeding much: that day and night they made (rejoicings?).

‘And, my brother, all the message that *Mani* came to bring has been performed. This same year behold, my brother, I will his wife, the Queen of *Egypt*, and I will send hence forth the land of *Khanirabbe* and the land of *Egypt*. And because of these things that *Mani* has spoken, I send back, my brother, *Gilia* and *Mani* with speed, to . . . these things; and let not my brother blame them as to delay in being despatched; for there was no delay to for my brother’s wife; and lo! delay is In the sixth month I have sent *Gilia* my envoy, and *Mani* my brother’s envoy: I will send my brother’s wife to my brother. So may *Istar* the Lady of Ladies my Goddess, and *Amanu*² my brother’s God, give peace I have sent to my brother; and my brother as increased his (love?) very much, and as the heart of my brother was satisfied; and (for our children?) my brother more than before. . . . I have despatched *Khai*, my brother,

¹ Possibly Queen *Teie* or *Thi*.

² *Amanu*, the Egyptian god Amen.

trusting his . . . and I give the letter to his hands and let him hear his message I have sent going to my brother my brother, are not his soldiers’

The next five lines referring to the wife are too broken to read. The back of the tablet continues:

‘ . . . which my brother sent all that my brother has caused to be collected in presence of all of them they have been (given ?) us all these things, beyond expectation thereof, and the gold . . . which they have paid—and he has indeed lavished very much . . . them, any or all these things; was not the gold They say “In the land of *Egypt* there is plenty more gold for thee my brother, because he loves thee very much and will love (and being so ?) is not there, behold, anything needful, anything besides, from the land of *Egypt* in addition ? So send to me, accordingly, him by whom these are given, and there shall be no lack.” Thus indeed (said) I “As to anything (further ?) do not I say to your faces—He loves me, and my land, exceeding much, does this King of *Egypt* ?”

‘ And my brother has taken me to his heart : all is as my heart desired ; and is it not understood ; when he sends shall not I hasten me for my brother : shall not I increase in longing towards my brother : as my brother does also ? *Mani*, my brother’s envoy, has brought my brother’s . . . which was with *Mani*. I have honoured their and I have honoured them very much. Now *Mani* will take

this; and my brother we direct him to
 how I have received from him very much: he will
 tell my brother this, and my brother will hear what
 we have done (as I have sent a list of gifts of this
 and that, and he shall not refuse it?).

‘And may my brother send untold gold; and may
 my father’s power increase with me, as my brother
 has increased my favour, as my brother has cherished
 me much, in the sight of my country, in the sight of
 the whole of my brethren. May *Rimmon* and *Amanu*
 appoint that my brother’s wishes be ever fulfilled;
 and for myself, my brother, that my wishes may be
 fulfilled, as men whom the Sun God loves. And so
 now the Gods shall indeed decree for us this prayer,
 we shall join as friends forever.

‘For my brother’s present I have sent to my
 brother a (double-edged weapon?) . . . and (?) of
 emeralds, and pure gold enclosed in a
 box, and of alabaster, and pure gold, for
 a box’

21 B.—‘To *Amenophis III.* the Great King, King
 of *Egypt*, my brother, my kinsman¹ whom I love,
 and who loves me, by letter thus *Dusratta*, the Great
 King, King of *Mitani*, thy brother, thy kinsman who
 also loves thee. I am at peace, etc.

‘To my brother whom I love I have given his

¹ The word *Khatanu* means any kinsman by marriage, and
emu is still used generally of any ‘kinsman’ or even for ‘friend.’
 Some have translated ‘son-in-law’ and ‘father-in-law,’ but the
 latter word would be *khamu*, not *emu*. *Dusratta* was the father-
 in-law of *Amenophis IV.*, but brother-in-law of *Amenophis III.*

young wife.¹ May the Sun God and *Istar* her face. As my brother desires: may and may my brother rejoice, in the day when the Sun-God and the God giving joy to my noble brother, let them grant it to be and may my brother forever.

‘*Mani* my brother’s envoy, and *Khani*² my brother’s interpreter, as you cause them to be sent, plenty of (provisions?) I shall give them them much; as they performed their orders I made all the people protect them. If they do not may my Gods, and my brother’s Gods, guard them. Now I have sent *Nahramani* who is careful in my brother’s affairs, and I have sent (an ornament?) of precious stones—of precious stones and gold, as a present to my brother; and may my brother be granted to live an hundred years.’

8 B. M.—The salutation is the same as before, but the writer’s name is spelt *Tusratta* instead of *Dusratta*. The letter is the best preserved in the whole collection.

‘Since your forefathers were friendly with my forefathers, thou therefore wast very greatly friendly with my father. So you love me: we are zealous friends. Ten times more you increase it than to my father. The heavenly Gods shall decree that we

¹ *Binti*, not *Bintiya*, ‘my daughter.’ The word *Bint* is still used generally for ‘a young woman.’ Perhaps Queen *Teie* is intended.

² *Targumanu*, ‘interpreter,’ is the modern ‘dragoman.’ *Khani* (see p. 30) was sent to Aziru, showing that the Canaanite rebellion may have occurred in the reign of Amenophis III.

shall be friends. May *Rimmon* my God, and *Amanu*, so pronounce, even forever.

‘And so my brother sent *Mani* his envoy. Thus indeed my brother (said) “Does not my brother’s heart desire that thy daughter (be) the wife of my young son¹—as a princess of *Egypt*” and I spoke as to my intention about it; and my brother desiring that she should be made ready for *Mani*, and to show her, so he beheld her, and praised her much. And may they lead her in peace into the land of my brother. May *Istar* and *Amanu* make her agreeable to my brother’s heart.

‘*Gilia*, my envoy, set forth my brother’s message before me. So I heard and it was very good; and so I rejoiced very much. Thus truly I say “This is thus arranged between us so that we may be zealous friends.” Now with firm faith for ever let us be friends.

‘So I shall send to my brother, and I say thus myself, so let us be much more friendly; and do not you respond to us? And I say thus, that my brother has enriched me ten times more than my father.

‘And I have asked much gold of my brother: so he has given me more than to my father. My brother indeed sent to me; and to my father you

¹ *Assat mariya elme*, or perhaps *Assutti elme*, ‘in marriage to the youth.’ There is no statement that shows Dusratta’s daughter to have married Amenophis III. She married his son, and is called the ‘daughter-in-law’ of Queen *Teie*. (11 B. M.)

sent much gold: much (merchandise ?) of gold; and besides all the gold you sent him you have sent me bricks of gold (lavished ?) like copper.

‘I sent *Gilia* (humbly ?) to my brother, and asked for gold. Thus indeed I (said) “Truly my brother has given me more than to my father, and may he send me untold gold.”

‘May my brother send me more than to my father; and now I say thus to my brother: the (loan ?) that my grandfather made, so I may (say), as (one thinking little of wealth ?) he made it for thee; and now as regards (what) I say, the gold that my brother shall send, let him send it when he likes.

‘Lo my brother has sent the gold saying “It is due to you.” But no. No more was due; and he had satisfied the account; and when he had satisfied the account I was glad thereof exceedingly; and whatever my brother sends I have been very glad thereof.

‘Now behold I sent to my brother—and may my brother extend his kindness to me more than to my father; now I asked gold of my brother, and whatever gold I asked of my brother, he has sent the double of what was asked. One (sum) for the (loan ?), and a second of good will.

‘And may my brother send me untold gold; and may he send me more than to my father; and so may the Gods decree, that much more gold besides be in my brother’s land, as there now is in my brother’s land; and ten times more than there now

is, may it increase.¹ And let not my brother refuse the gold that I ask by my brother's wish; and, as for me, let me not refuse my brother's wish; and may my brother send me very much gold uncounted; and whatever my brother needs let him send and take. Let me return the gift that my brother desires for his household. This land is my brother's land, and this house is my brother's house.

'Now I send *Gilia* my envoy to my brother. Let him not refuse him. Let him speedily command him: let him send him away. So hearing my brother's salutation let me rejoice exceeding much. Let me ever hear my brother's salutation. And these messages that we send, let my God *Rimmon* and *Amannu* decree that they may arrive through their mercy. And as now it is prayed therefor, so we are friends; and as now so forever may we be friends.

'Now as to the gifts for my brother: I have sent as my brother's gifts a quantity of solid gold, and precious stones: (its value?) includes the amount of twenty precious stones, and nineteen pieces of gold. The weight of precious stones and gold remaining includes the amount of forty-two precious stones and twenty pieces of gold *Zuzas* of Istar: (this is) the weight of precious stones and gold remaining; and ten yoke of horses, and ten chariots, with all that belongs to them, and thirty female slaves.'

27 B.—This is the longest letter in the collection,

¹ The gold came from Nubia and Abyssinia. (See Brugsch, 'Hist. Egypt,' I., pp. 287, 310.

including six lines in Aramaic, and 512 lines in Dusratta's native language (see Journal Royal Asiatic Society, October, 1892, for my translation). The important passages of the letter appear to me to read as follows, and the meaning is confirmed by statements in other letters by this writer concerning his daughter's marriage. The letter was addressed to Amenophis III., and sent by the same two envoys, *Mani* and *Gilias*,¹ already noticed.

'*Gilias* the envoy who takes the message is ordered to utter it, his duty being to go out, because Amenophis III. the Egyptian (ally ?) rules a far off land, and I rule in the city *Ikhibin*² the city of the God *Simigis*³ the paternal deity.

'To proceed: as *Mani* my brother's envoy says, it is understood that my brother is very desirous that it should be speedily completed.

'Brother, I gladly empower the envoy to take back this woman, whom *Mani* says my brother commanded him to bring, when he was ordered as an envoy.

'Understanding that my brother desires now to take her home, is it not necessary, understanding this decision to be preferred; as twenty-three months have gone by, is not her taking home to be hastened? My Court having decided to accept, and being satisfied

¹ In Aramaic, *Gilia*, in the native tongue *Gilias*, with the Mongol termination of the nominative indefinite.

² *Ikhibin*, possibly Kaban Maden in Armenia.

³ *Si-migi-s* is apparently a Mongol title for some deity, 'the eye of night' (or 'of sunset'), either the moon or the evening star.

as well as my wife, and resolved to accept the agreement; and the girl being heartily pleased—how happy she is words cannot tell—the decision is from the Gods, brother, for me the decision is from the mighty Gods, my brother. Surely you know whether I do not desire that she should be so brilliantly exalted, the girl being so fortunately (married): surely you know that I shall be glad.

‘Proclaim thou for me that whatever people of *Khalci*,¹ west of the *Minyan*² country—whatever people of *Khalci* I have conquered, are made subject.

‘I being the great chief of the power of the land of the *Hittites* taking to me, my brother, all the people that are conquered. Let it extend to the city of *Harran*³ and let the land possessed by no king be taxed.

¹ *Khalci*, either Chalcis near Aleppo, or the ‘Land of the *Khal*,’ or ‘Phœnicians.’ (Karnak list, No. 140.)

² The Minyans (Jer. li. 27; and in Psalm xlv. 8, Targum) lived west of Lake Van. The Hyksos are called *Men*, or *Menti* in Egyptian texts. Apepi, the Hyksos King, adored *Set*, or *Sut*, who was adored also by the Hittites, and from whom Dusratta’s father, *Sut-tarna* (‘Set is his lord’) was probably named. It would appear that the Hyksos, Hittites, and Armenians, were of the same race. The land of the *Men* is said to have been near Assyria, and east of Syria, which agrees. (See Brugsch, ‘Hist. Egypt,’ vol. i., pp. 210, 233, 234, 239.) The Minyæ of Herodotus (I. 146; IV. 145-8) are noticed as mixed with Aryans in Ionia, and in Lacedæmon were regarded as descendants of sailors in the Argo—perhaps from Colchis and the Caucasus. See what is said as to the similarity of the presents from Armenia (26 B.), and the art of Mycenæ and Troy, which is of Asiatic origin.

³ Harran (Gen. xi. 31, etc.) now *Harrân*, was on the south border of Dusratta’s kingdom marching with Assyria. (Compare 24 B.)

‘My son in law being married in the city of Thebes in presence of the image of the deity.’

‘Is it not thus that *Dusratta* dwelling afar arranges the marriage of *Tadukhipa*¹—*Dusratta* the favoured (friend?) from the *Minyan* land, consenting to the wish of *Amenophis III.* the Egyptian (friend) that the son of *Amenophis III.* be so married to her, in the presence of the image of the deity.’

As this letter is written in what is called by scholars an ‘unknown language,’ these renderings may be questioned. The dialect appears, however, to be closely related to the Akkadian and to other Mongol dialects of Western Asia, and to be also the same used (B. 10) by the Hittites.

10 B. M.—Written, as the Egyptian docket at the bottom of the tablet on the back states, in the thirty-sixth year of *Amenophis III.*, which appears to have been probably the last of his reign.

‘To *Amenophis III.* King of Egypt my brother, my kinsman whom I love, and who loves me, by letter thus *Dusratta* King of *Mitani* who loves thee, thy kinsman. I am at peace. Peace be to thee, to thy house, to the woman *Tachikhipa* my daughter, to the wife thou lovest be peace.² To thy wives, to thy sons, to thy Lords, to thy chariots, to thy horses, to thy army, to thy land, and to all that is thine, be much, much, much peace.

‘Thus (I say) *Istar* of *Nineveh*, the lady of the

¹ *Tadukhipa*, a Mongol name, ‘possessing sweetness.’

² Probably *Teie* is here meant, as there is no notice of *Gilukhipa*. She may have died.

lands, is kind of heart to the land of *Egypt*. In the land that I love do not they walk after her?¹ Do not they cry aloud to her? Now behold it has brought thee prosperity.

‘Now from the time of my father they have besought *Istar* in her land for thy prosperity; and, as of old so now, it continues. They honour her.

‘And now may my brother receive of her ten times more than before. Let my brother receive with joy: let it be hastened for him: let it endure.

‘*Istar* is the Lady of Heaven my brother, and as for me let me be guarded by her for an hundred years; and may great joy be given. Let it be granted by her that I may not fail; and as you desire may it (befall?).

‘Is not *Istar* my God, and has not she (prospered?) my brother (or been with my brother?).’

24 B.—The second longest of Dusratta’s letters, 185 lines in all, is unfortunately very much damaged, as it is perhaps the most important, giving as it does historical information extending over three generations, during which the kings of Egypt and of Mitani were allied by marriage.

‘To *ya*² my kinsman, whom I love and who loves me the great King (King of) *Mitani* thy kinsman who loves thee. I am at peace

¹ ‘Walk after’ for ‘obey,’ or ‘worship,’ is used just as in Biblical Hebrew.

² The broken name was *Nabkhuriya*, or Amenophis IV., as is clear from the next paragraph. He was also the husband of *Tadukhipa*, as here stated. (See 11 B. M.)

. to the Lady *Teie* . . . to *Tadukhipa* my daughter thy wife be peace, to be peace. To thy sons, to thy Lords, to thy chariots, to thy horses, to thy and to all that is thine, be much, much, much peace of *Amenophis III.* thy father he sent to me; he explained of all that he sent there was no message at all that I to your father as to what he sent to me; and *Teie* the chief wife of *Amenophis III.* your mother knew all of them. All these have been seen by *Teie* your mother the messages that your father caused to be addressed to me.

‘. and ten times more than with *Amenophis III.* your father we shall be friendly. . . . *Amenophis III.* your father caused him to tell me whatsoever wish and whatever message I spoke, faithfully in the same day he himself did not turn away his heart from any message but faithfully in the same day he caused it to be done.

‘. the father of *Amenophis III.* sent to *Sitatama*¹ my grandfather, and a daughter. He sent to my grandfather five or six times, and he was not given her, when he sent; and at length he was given her. *Amenophis III.* your father sent (humbly?) to *Sut* (*tarna*) my father . . . and so for my father’s daughter, my own sister, his heart was desirous; and five (or six) times he her: when he had sent five or six times at length he was

¹ *Sitatama*, a Mongol name, apparently ‘fair-faced.’ *Sutturna* also Mongolic, ‘Sut is his Lord.’

given her. So *Amenophis III.* sent to me, and so desired a daughter¹ and I I said in of his envoy "Thus I say I have (sworn?) to give her: by our wish to take, and the which he has known: and she is a sister so it is lawful; and I give *Amenophis III.* thy (father?) . . . if these are not truths heaven and earth bear witness to give her; and *Khai*² the envoy of my brother to the (Queen?) and to *Amenophis III.*, I sent with her in three months with the greatest speed and the gold truly was not which I sent.

'When you favoured a daughter, and so (sent for) her, and as *Amenophis III.* your father knew her, I rejoiced being exceeding glad, and he said "My brother, is not it thy wish thus to give the handmaid"; and he made public agreement with

¹ As Gilukhipa was married during the reign of Suttarna (apparently from Egyptian sources in the tenth year of *Amenophis III.*, or about 1490 B.C.), it is possible that *Teie* is here intended; but her father's name was *Iuaa*, or *Ivaa*, and it is not clear what relation she was to Dusratta. From 11 B. it seems clear that they were related, and later in the present letter he mentions the 'father of *Teie*,' apparently as living with him after his own father's death. The syllables *Ivve* (perhaps for *Ivaa*) precede the father's name, but as the text is here broken, it is not certain that these syllables represent a personal name. Perhaps *Teie* was Dusratta's cousin. She was certainly of royal birth, and is represented as very fair, but with dark hair. The words 'a daughter' may mean only 'a young woman.'

² *Khai* was sent to Aziru (31 B.), which again shows the date of the Canaanite rebellion to have been early.

this his land, in presence of my envoy so men when they beheld; and I received from him; and *Amenophis III.* established us for the future; and so receiving I was made great; and in the cities which for *Tadukhipa* in all of them he made us dwell as conquerors,¹ and among the envoys who went down none that *Gilia* the gold of one (*limzu*) was given by weight. Truly to *Amenophis III.* for *Tadukhipa* it was given; and *Tadukhipa* was given . . . and my envoys *Amenophis III.* with I received; there was no one *Amenophis III.* sent *Nizik* his envoy myself; and he (refusing?) to my face the of gold the gold which of *Gilia* and he established us my envoys to be despatched he did not cease to (deny?) and he took her I was not able to refuse to please him he sent this to me they sent was wonderful, and then *Amenophis III.* your father in every message the lord of the place to protect her. Did not he order all these as I say do not I say that *Teie*² has known and *Teie* is your mother, ask her if, among the messages that I spake, there is one message which is not vindi-

¹ This agrees with 27 B. as regards Dusratta's conquests in the Hittite country.

² As *Amenophis IV.* was married already in the reign of *Amenophis III.*, his mother's marriage evidently took place some twenty years at least before the date of this letter.

cated by her, as to these (messages) to *Amenophis III.* your father if to *Amenophis III.* your father brotherhood was made by me: if it was said by *Amenophis III.* your father "If at all (there is) gold that in the land of *Khani Rabbe* I will despatch it; and order thou thus the do not I desire to cause it to be sent": the . . . bore what was ordered to be given of *Amenophis III.* your father; and *Amenophis III.* said to me ". the treasures of gold all that my desires is sent and to do this I have sent to thee" there by *Amenophis III.* with a message. Never was there a message without a reply. I never refused any of the messages.

'(And when) *Amenophis III.* was obliged to be taken to his fate, and they told (me) I tore my cheeks, and I mourned on that same day; I sat (in the dust?); I (took) no food or water that same day; and I was grieved I said "Let me perish myself from earth, and from my and that he loved me God knows, and he was loved" (and because of) these things we are cast down in our hearts.'

' to me the eldest son of *Amenophis III.* by his wife *Teie* was made, and I said "Has not *Amenophis III.* died the eldest son of his chief wife *Teie* (is) in his stead shall not we be sent news from her abode as of old."

' I say thus "*Amenophis IV.* is my brother whom we shall love in our hearts the son of

Amenophis III. more than his father, because of *Teie* his mother, who was the wife as she desires a message to the presence of *Amenophis IV.* (*Abkhuriya*) the son of *Amenophis III.* her husband. I (rejoice) very exceeding much that we shall be friends.

‘(As they have sent me this message?) As they have ordered it, *Giliās* is humbly (sent?) they have sent *Mani* (as an envoy?), and treasures of woods (or trees) my brother has sent, and gold without gold and without’

The next passage is too broken to read, but refers to the continuance of friendship since the time of the ancestors of both kings, and for the future. The back of the tablet is very much broken, the whole of one paragraph, and the greater part of the next, which refers to *Teie* as the mother of *Amenophis IV.*, being destroyed. It continues:

‘. . . . the message of your mother which to *Giliās* He has desired a message to be despatched and (as he desires) have not I sent my envoys, and have not I (and it is not my fault?) and the treasures which he asked of him I have caused to be given, not being desired my envoys four years since you¹’

Eight lines are here almost entirely destroyed, referring to some speedy message, and to the former king, with a reference to certain persons, including

¹ Apparently this was written at least four years after the death of *Amenophis III.*, or about 1450 B.C. at earliest.

the 'father of *Teie* (your elders?) with me,' with professions of friendship. The end of the paragraph (lines 40, 41) contains the words, 'as thus he set us up over all her many lands all the lands are all hers in his sight.'¹ The next paragraph continues:

' the (treasures?) of gold (allowed to be despatched?) previously by *Amenophis III.* he has sent. Lo! very exceedingly my brother has desired that treasures to us; and much of his gold very exceedingly my brother as intending for me whatever among and your father; was not he given by me; and lo! now let my brother see that I was not at all to your father: the treasures that he desired were given, and lo! I am sending back my message: there shall be nothing done to cause the heart to turn away all the messages *Teie* has been a witness, and *Teie* your mother plenty. Lo! I asked your father, and did not your father grant me? and let this gold be given, and let not my brother's heart let him not turn from my when the (loan?) was not made, and what had

' Let *Gilia* know this day what my brother's heart desires. I have made *Gilia* travel . . . thus I have made my brother's envoys to obey him, travelling with speed. If ever, my brother, my envoys if ever I send my envoys (the fault is not mine?) I have sent *Mani*

¹ The lands given when Tadukhipa was married.

and *Gilia* to my brother as before. If at all by my brother my envoys to him, and if by us they shall be received, I also shall so hasten him
 . . . Lo! as regards messages from my brother, which he makes about anything as to my brother's intentions thence; and on the throne of his father he sits this day; and let me do my brother's will.

'I say thus, my brother, have not I sent my envoys, and much in their keeping which is for thee; and my brother let which is for thee. *Mazipalali*¹ my envoy is the paternal uncle of *Gilia* and for my brother I have sent him, and my brother am not I (the surer?) as *Gilia* is not And the other envoy whom I shall send to my brother is the brother of *Gilia* the son of his mother² I sent him. So my brother have not I despatched him speedily without stopping, and, my brother, as to my wishes that I wish (it is not my fault?) and because of these things did not I send *Gilia* for security, and for all this am not I the surer.

'*Mazipalali* whom I shall send to my brother is the uncle of *Gilia*; and the treasures (allowed to be despatched?) and plenty of untold gold of the (loan?) which I desire from my brother let my brother give and let him not refuse; and with my brother gold in addition ten times more may it increase to me exceedingly

¹ *Mazipalali*, a Mongol name, 'hero with the sword.'

² Indicating that these Mongols were not monogamists.

. . . . let these things be ordered; and *Mani* (with) my envoy my brother let be given of my brother; and let him send *Gilia* to me; and and all the news about my brother's mother that they shall speak, and (especially?) let me (hear?) that they did. And lo! as before I sent not to thee my brother, so let him me. Let not my brother and to my brother's pleasure and I meditate a message of consolation for my brother.

'Let both *Artessupa*¹ and thus relate in my brother's land this thing. I have been sent (under escort?) *Mani* (brought?) before me all my wicked slaves, who have dwelt in *Egypt*, and I examined them² as to and they said and I said before them "Why is your insolence so great?" So they put them in chains, and one of my . . . one from my city who has angered the land and another did not I slay because of these things? My brother, did not he say was not I wroth? Behold my brother they were wicked . . . and my brother it was necessary and now let me (afflict them?).

'As to a present for my brother. My brother's presents (are) — a (weight?) of solid gold from the land *Ris Burkhis*, a weapon with a stone

¹ Mongol name, *Ar-Tessupas*, 'worshipper of Tessupas' (Rimmon). Other Mongol names occur in 27 B. (in the native speech) including *Asali*, 'joyful,' and *Artatan*, 'strong soldier.' If *Teie's* name was Mongolic, it would mean 'bright.'

² Similar extradition is noticed in the treaty between Rameses II. and Kheta Sar, the Hittite king, a century later.

head¹ . . . of precious stone (an ornament ?)
 for the hands of precious stones, one part of gold :
 three cloths: three three . . . (with fasten-
 ings ?) of gold, . . . of refined bronze (or copper)
 . . . two

‘As a present for *Teie* your mother an (orna-
 ment ?) for the hands of precious stones . . . earrings
 . . . two cloths.

‘As a present for (*Tadukhipa*) my (daughter) an
 (ornament ?) for the hands earrings . . . two
 cloths.’

23 B.—The salutation is the same as in the last,
 being addressed to *Amenophis IV.*, to *Teie* and to
Tadukhipa.

‘*Mani* my brother’s envoy (has come) to (me).
 I have heard. I liked much the gifts that my
 brother . . . I saw, and I rejoiced very much. My
 brother utters this message and (says) “As with my
 father *Amenophis III.* you were friends, now behold
 this day be friends with me thy brother. You will
 continue to be kind,” and I have not delayed
 with my brother. Lo! ten times more than to
 your father I will be a friend.

‘And your father *Amenophis III.* spoke this
 message in his letter (by your . . .) *Mani*, “Continue
 thou the friendship,”² and when my brother *Ameno-*

¹ The signs *IZCU*, *SAK*, *TAK*, ‘weapon, stone, head,’ seem
 to indicate a stone axe such as the Carians used. Battle-axes
 of flint are noticed in the time of Thothmes III. (Brugsch,
 ‘Hist. Egypt,’ I., p. 342.)

² This letter may perhaps be earlier than the preceding.

phis III. said this, lo! what I had sent was nothing at all, and my brother shall not consider it anything. And I do not send this present, which behold I have sent to thee, as desiring to cause you to send; but (humbly?) whatever my brother desires to be given to his wife, they shall be made to take away. They shall see her,¹ and I will send ten times as much.

‘And the treasures of gold (allowed to be despatched?) one treasure for me, and another treasure as the treasure of *Tadukhipa* my daughter, lo! I asked of Amenophis III. your father. And your father said “Send for the gold that (remains to be remitted?) let the (rest?) be given, and the precious stones that are to be given thee, and the gold, because we have increased the gift, which is marvellous with treasures to be given to you.” And the gold of the treasures all my envoys who were in the land of *Egypt* beheld with their eyes; and your father lavishly increased the treasures in presence of my envoys. He welcomed them on their way; he maintained them! and lavishly expended the on my envoys. They gazed, and so truly they beheld with their eyes his favour poured out.

‘And more gold besides, which was marvellous, which he sent to me, he piled up; and he said to my envoys “Behold the treasures, and behold the gold in plenty, and the possessions which are marvellous,² which I shall send to my brother: behold

¹ From a later letter (I B. M.) it seems that the foreign ladies were shown to envoys from their parents, to enable them to report as to their health.

² Or ‘the curious things.’

them also with your eyes." And my envoys beheld with their eyes.

'But now, my brother, the treasures remitted; which your father sent, you shall not send, but the woods (or trees) have been received.¹ You are sending the possessions that your father sent to me. You shall not send them, but shall store them up very much.

'And thinking of all that one has known, how I rejoiced because of my brother, none ever brought salutation from him at any time, my brother, but the same day return was made to him.

'And *Khamassi* my brother's envoy he sent (humbly?) to my presence, and (humbly?) he spoke my brother's message: I heard and then I said "As I was friends with *Amenophis III.* thy father, lo! now ten times more with *Amenophis IV.* (*Nabkhuriya*) shall I be great friends." So then I said to *Khamassi* your envoy.

'And lo! my brother: the treasures of gold to be remitted you shall not send; and there (shall be) respite of gifts which your father spoke of sending. It is desired that my brother shall not send them.

'Lo! my brother, the treasures of gold which I asked of your father I may say that half of them will be carried off (or stolen) The lands are at strife²'

¹ Or perhaps, 'but letters are received.'

² This agrees with the letters from Babylonia in showing the disturbed state of the countries between Armenia and Egypt early in the reign of Amenophis IV., due to the revolts of Hittites, Amorites, and Hebrews.

The rest of this letter, including all the back, is too much broken to be read. It appears to go on to speak of 'destruction' and to refer to a state of disturbance. It mentions the envoy *Khamassi*, and says 'Of what he has brought the fourth part has been robbed.' On the back *Gilia* is mentioned with gold, and relations between the writer and Amenophis III. He refers again to the message from Amenophis IV., and to *Teie* his mother; and invokes *Rimmon* and *Amanu*. The words 'unless they are conquered' seem also to occur. This letter contained altogether 113 lines of writing.

26 B.—A list of presents. On the back, at the bottom of the left hand column, is the statement, 'These are the things carried by the female slaves, all those things which *Dusratta* King of *Mitani* gave to *Amenophis III.* his brother, his kinsman, when he sent his daughter *Tadukhipa* to the land of Egypt, to Amenophis III., for marriage, he gave all these that day.'

The list is a very long and difficult one. It begins with two horses, and a chariot plated with gold and silver, and adorned with precious stones. The harness of the horses was adorned in like manner. Two camel litters appear to be next noticed, and apparently variegated garments worked with gold, and embroidered zones and shawls. These are followed by lists of precious stones, and a horse's saddle adorned with gold eagles.¹ A necklace of

¹ The two-headed eagle was a Hittite emblem; it is also found at Mycenæ.

solid gold and gems, a bracelet of iron gilt,¹ an anklet of solid gold, and other gold objects follow; and apparently cloths, and silver objects, and vases of copper or bronze. An object of jade or jasper (*Yaspu*), and leaves of gold, are noticed (both jade and leaves of gold have actually been found in the oldest ruins at Troy), the former being perhaps noticed as coming from *Elam*, by trade with central Asia, where jade was found. Five gems of 'stone of the great light' (perhaps diamonds) follow, with ornaments for the head and feet, and a number of bronze objects, and harness for chariots. Boxes of strong wood to contain treasures follow next, and apparently a collar with disks and carved lions, objects of silver and gold and strong wood, bronze ornaments for horses. The last noticed objects may be written tablets, including some on the ritual of the Gods.

25 B.—A list similar to the last, perhaps part of the same inventory, as it includes women's ornaments. The tablet is much injured. The objects noticed include an earring with gems, and others of gold, with a large number of precious stones, a necklace with one hundred and twenty-two gems set in gold, including 'green stones'; bracelets and anklets of solid gold with jewels: an umbrella adorned with gold: boxes to hold treasures, and numerous objects of silver: horns of the wild bull,

¹ Iron from Asia is believed to have been known yet earlier. (Brugsch, 'Hist. Egypt,' I., pp. 342, 354). It was known in the fourteenth century B.C. by its Semitic name *berzil*.

and wooden objects adorned with gold: cups of gold adorned with gems: other bracelets and anklets of gold with pendants and stars of jewels: a pair of gold earrings with pendants and stars of precious stones: silver anklets for women, and earrings with gold pendants. In each case the weight of gold and the numbers of the gems are stated.

These inventories of Tadukhipa's marriage outfit show how far advanced was the civilization of Western Asia in the fourteenth century B.C., and indicate not only the native wealth of gold, silver, copper, and bronze, from Asia Minor and the Caucasus, but also a trade which brought jade from Central Asia. The art of the age is similar to that of the objects found at Troy and Mycenæ, and represented on the Egyptian bas-reliefs, which give pictures of the tribute from Phœnicia. From other tablets in the collection we obtain similar information, including the use of ivory, as also from the records of tribute to Thothmes III. in 1600 B.C.

11 B. M.—‘To Princess of the Land of Egypt¹ thus *Dusratta* King of *Mitani*. I am at peace: Peace be to thee Peace be to thy son; peace be to *Tadukhipa* thy daughter-in-law. To thy land and to all that is thine be much, much peace.

‘Thou hast known of me how I loved *Amenophis III.* thy husband, and *Amenophis III.* because he was thy husband how he loved me. As for *Amenophis III.*

¹ Clearly written to *Teie*, as *Amenophis IV.* is mentioned as her son.

thy husband he heard what I said; and *Amenophis III.*, because he was thy husband, sent messages to me; and what he said to thee my . . . both *Mani* has known, and thou . . . hast known all of these things—the messages we zealously uttered. There was nothing thus that he has not known of them.

‘Now you said to *Gilia*, “Say to your Lord, *Amenophis III.* was friends with your father, and why should his favour be less than to your father? Nay indeed, what he shall send to our place shall not . . . will not you hasten to . . . your friendship with *Amenophis III.* . . . making it greater; and assure him . . . that you will gladly send . . .

‘. . . to your husband friendship . . . so now . . . your son, ten times more . . . and the messages . . .

‘. . . why from . . . our good faith, and . . . is given to me . . . thus I . . . *Amenophis IV.* (*Nabkhuriya*) . . . and now behold . . . to give is not . . .

‘. . . when by your desire I . . . and to the presence of *Amenophis IV.* . . . and you wished thus . . . do not desire, and . . . the treasures of gold to be remitted, let *Amenophis IV.* receive. (There is nothing indeed he may not desire?) that is not . . . ten times more than his father let him increase in friendship towards me, and in power.”

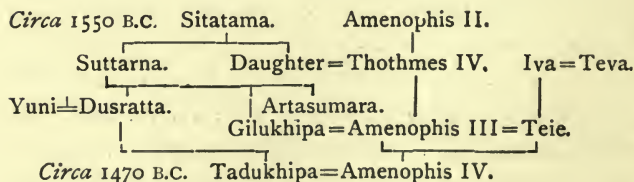
‘. . . you yourself, your envoys, with the

envoys of *Amenophis IV.*, with . . . let them be sent to *Yuni* my wife,¹ for what is wished; and the envoys of *Yuni* my wife let them be sent to (thee) as to what is wished.

‘Now as to thy present . . . a goodly stone, also (a coronet?) and a . . . of stones.’

It seems clear from this letter, and from 24 B., that *Teie* (or *Thi*) the queen of Egypt, was related to Dusratta, but it is not clear that she was his sister. *Gilukhipa*, the sister whom he names, is known from Egyptian sources to have been the daughter of *Suttarna*, Dusratta’s father, and she came to Egypt with 317 ladies in her train.

It is also to be remarked that Dusratta invokes the Egyptian god *Amen* both when writing to Amenophis III. and also when writing to Amenophis IV., so that there does not appear to have been any change of religion in Egypt during the reign of the latter—at least, at the time when he wrote. The following is the parallel history of the two families:



Amenophis III. also married at least one Babylonian princess, as will appear in the letters that follow.

¹ *Yuni*, as a Mongol name, would mean ‘true.’

Rimmon Nirari's Letter.

30 B.—‘To the Sun God the King my Lord the King of Egypt, thus *Rimmon-Nirari*¹ thy servant. I bow at my Lord’s feet. Lo! *Manakhbiya* (Thothmes IV.) made my father King to rule in the Land of *Markhasse* (or *Nukhasse*), and established men to dwell with him; and as the King of was disputing for the kingdom, which has been made which he established for him he gave him . . .’

About twenty lines of the letter are here destroyed; the broken lines below continue thus:

‘And lo! my Lord and the King of the land of the *Hittites* why my Lord the letters and fearing and lo! the King of *Egypt* . . . and now my Lord against and to the hands to our Lord thy Lord in the years that may come Do not scorn, since the land was faithful in service to the King my Lord. And if God commands my Lord to go forth, let my Lord also send a chief, to be sent up to him with his soldiers and with his chariots.’

¹ *Rimmon Nirari* is an Assyrian name, but the king so called lived a good deal later. The rank of this writer is evidently inferior, but not as inferior as that of the Canaanite chiefs. He may have been an Assyrian prince, and perhaps wrote to Amenophis III. *Nukhasse*, Dr. Bezold supposes to be the *Anaugas* of the records of Thothmes III., an unknown region in Syria. I have supposed it to be Merash, reading *Mar-khasse*.

Calimmasin's Letters.

I. B.—‘To *Amenophis III.* the King of *Egypt* by letter thus (*Cal*)*limmasin*¹ the King of *Carandunias* (Babylonia) thy brother. I am at peace. To thee, to thy house, thy wives, thy land, thy chariots, thy horses, thy be much peace.

‘Because of the youngest of my daughters, whom you send to wed, *Irtabi* whom you remember, they took this message. My father formerly sent a message. You collected many soldiers, you approved his message, and you sent making a present to my father.

‘Now I send thee this envoy. In the sixth year you seek for this, and in the sixth year you send thirty *manahs* of gold (instead of?) silver for my present. I return the same gold. *Casi* your envoy has known its (value?) which he has seen. I send thy envoy well instructed as to our opinion. For I followed and the present that he is instructed to is thirty *manahs* of gold, which you a gift of alliance.’

The rest is too broken to read. It mentions five women sent, and ten wooden chariots—the latter as presents. The next letter is from Egypt. Either a copy or an original never sent.²

I. B. M.—‘To *Callimmasin* King of *Carandunias* my brother, by letter thus *Amenophis III.* the great

¹ This king, unknown before, was probably older than *Amenophis III.*, who married his daughter, who was marriageable before the writer's father died.

² As in the previous case (82 B.). See p. 88.

King, the King of *Egypt* thy brother. There is peace to my region. To thy region be peace : to thy house, to thy wives, to thy sons, to thy Lords, to thy horses, to thy chariots, and in thy lands be much peace. I am at peace. There is much peace to my house, to my wives, to my sons, to my Lords, my horses, my chariots, my army ; and in my lands there is much peace.

‘ Now I heard the message you sent about her to me. Thus it was, “ Now you ask my daughter as your wife, but my sister whom my father gave thee, being good to you, has any seen her whether she has lived or whether she has died ? ” This is the message that you send in your letter. But did you ever send as your envoy, one who has known your sister, and who has spoken with her, and understood her ? And let one speak with her. The chiefs you send are useless, your envoy *Zakara* is one who is a chief (?). There is not one among them related to your father, and concerning this my envoy is with thee, and has spoken to her her heart concerning this, and she has given to her mother. And lo ! you send this, “ You spoke to my envoys, and they gathered your wives : a lady appeared before you (saying) thus, Behold your queen who is brought out before you all. But my envoys knew her not (to be) my sister.” Now satisfy yourself as to what you thus send, “ My envoys knew her not,” and you say, “ Who was it that was recognised by her ? ” Why do not you send as your envoy one who shall tell you a true message as to the salu-

tation from your sister, I pray you? And you said that they disputed as to her appearance. But you can see her with the King. And lo! you send thus, "Who was the princess—a daughter of one who was a native, or was she one of the land of (my neighbours?), or was she the daughter of the Land of *Khani Rabbatu*, or the princess of the Land of *Ugarit*, that my envoys so saw, and who was it that spoke to them to satisfy that nothing wrong was done?" And does not your message say all this? But if she has died—your sister, and I am concealing, as you pretend, her in former times, which we the God *Amanu* (I rejoice that the wife I love?) she has been made queen I deny that beyond all the wives that the Kings of *Egypt* in the land of *Egypt*. And lo! you send thus "Both my daughters . . . as wives of the Kings of the land of *Carandunias*." But if the of my envoys is friendly, and they have said "With these things our Lord has sent us, as a present, to satisfy thee concerning thy message: the princess salutes the Kings, and all her friends your daughters." Take thou possession from him of whatever is with them, and send me a letter, and arrange with thy sister who is with me, and make sure of everything; and I have sent to thee an overseer, so to make known to your daughters, in order to perceive the evil that they teach you. And lo! you send "The messages that my father has left do not these messages of his say concerning this, that he established alliance between

us?" This is the message you send. Now you and I have fulfilled the alliance, and the portion is before your envoys as they will say in your presence. Is not all to be given by us to her who (is) to come to the land of Egypt (whom) they shall bring before me? And (choose?) one of them. (Now) I have sent silver, gold, unguents, cloths, all whatsoever the land can give, and the overseer will say what is the value of that which he has brought—every gift to be weighed to you, that my envoy is to give. And we have been shamed by the evils that they speak. They have refuted the abominations—the evil things that they told you of us. And I was grieved when they us all these things. For is it not of their deceit that they told you thus? And I appointed them not to them about this. And lo! you send thus, you say thus to my envoys, "There are no soldiers of my Lord, and is not (a young girl?) to be given them?" This is thy message: "Thy envoys said for thee that none are going forth. It might be done safely if there were soldiers, if there be none it is impossible to arrange for us what I am asked by him. If there are soldiers I grant it you, if there are horses I grant you this." This reason your envoy made use of with us, who put me to shame—the evil man whom you sent. I pray thee if they feared to be slain, and lamented evils when she went out, lo! all was in your hands. Thus let my chariots be granted from among the chariots of the ruling chiefs: do not you regard them as a possession? You can send them wherever you please. Are not they all a

possession? Are not there, I pray you also, chariots, are not there I pray you horses with me? Demand all my horses: the chariots behold you shall send to meet you at the stations. As for me you shall send me the girl, and send out one to lead (her) to me.'

3 B. M.—This is broken at the top, but supposed to be from *Calimmasin*.

' my envoys the many
that they send to me I Thou my brother
without for thy daughter to wed, as I send
. . . . (you say) thus, "From of old a daughter of
the King of Egypt was not given for anything."
Why so? Thou art a King, and doest thy will. As
they spake this message to me I then sent thus,
"Many of (your) daughters are grown up. So send
one who is grown up as (I ask for) her." Who says
thus, "There is no daughter of the King to give."
Thou hast sent without enquiring as to this. Thou
dost not rebuke alliance and goodwill, as you send
approaching me eagerly as to a taking to wife. And
I sent to you because of these things, in brotherhood
and goodwill, because eagerly approaching me as to
taking a wife. My brother, why not send a woman?
Why am I repulsed? I myself have sent like thee,
I have entrusted a woman. As there were daughters
I did not refuse thee. Why associate by taking a
wife as I have sent to thee to know this
. . . . all your so they said your
. Lo! my daughter whom I have sent¹
. you do not take unwillingly, consenting to

¹ Probably *Irtabi* (1 B.).

whatever you desire and as for the gold that I send you, your envoy has agreed with me as to the amount of the gold I Behold speedily, within this year, whether in the month of June (*Duzu*) or in the month of July (*Ab*)¹, this message being taken away, let her whom I have taken be If within this year, in June or in July, I send you the gold, you shall send . . . the daughter whom I am given by you, and you in return shall send the gold for your But if in June or in July the gold is not sent, do not cause her whom I have taken to be sent away. And in return for what will you send to be carried away her whom I have taken. Why indeed is it necessary to trouble about gold? Truly sending 3000 (pounds?) of gold have not I completed the exchange for you, and have not I given my daughter to take to wife?’

Assurubalid's Letter.

9 B.—‘To *Amenophis IV.* (the great King?) the King of *Egypt* my brother, thus *Assurubalid*² King of *Assyria* the great King thy brother. Peace be to thee, to thy house, and to thy land. I was very glad when I saw your envoys. Let me send your envoys again with my message. I have sent as a present

¹ The month names are written in ideograms of Akkadian origin.

² This king's date has been placed as late as 1400 B.C., but the dates are not accurately fixed. His daughter appears to have married Burnaburias of Babylon before 1450 B.C. (‘Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch,’ I, p. 69). His predecessor, Buzur Assur, had settled the Assyrian boundary with Burnaburias. (*Ibid.*, p. 68).³

for you a chariot (of the royal forces?) of my and two horses swift and sure. A chariot (without harness?) and a precious stone.

‘The sending of gold from your land that has formerly come across to the great King has ceased.¹ Why should he be repulsed from your sight? They have taken as much gold as there was; as much as I have received, which also I have needed, is caused to be sent.

‘In the time of *Assurnadinakhi*² my ancestor they sent to the land of Egypt twenty (pounds?) of gold.

‘In the time that the King of *Khani-Rabbatu* sent to your father, to the land of Egypt, they sent him twenty (pounds) of gold.

‘. . . To the King of *Khani Rabbatu* and to me you have sent gold. I sent and you from the hands of my envoys

‘If fortunately your face is favourable send gold, and let him who executes the message take what is needed. In return let our envoys be sent to thee from us. Your envoys who have tarried with me needing men to guide them it is granted, in order that I may send this. They took from me men to

¹ This interruption (see also the letter from Chaldea, 18 B., in the later reign of Horus) was probably due to the Syrian revolt (compare 23 B., 7 B., and 8 B.), showing that the power of Egypt, broken in 1480 B.C., was still unrecognised as late as 1400 B.C., which brings us near the time when Rameses II. recognised the independence of the Hittites about 1360 B.C. (See p. 96.)

² Supposed to have reigned about 1550 B.C.: presents from Assyria were received by Thothmes III. even earlier (Brugsch, ‘Hist. Egypt,’ I., p. 328), including chariots and cedar wood.

guide them as they went down. Do not disgrace my envoys, and do not delay them for me. Why should we not in future send out envoys? In future they will carry news, in future they will be sent out to the King to carry the news. And in future let it be declared "Whosoever of us is treacherous let him be destroyed for the King." I have received (envoys) thirteen times, why should not other envoys besides from the King in future again'

~

Letters from Burnaburias.

2 B. M.—'To *Amenophis IV.* (*Nibkhuarririya*) King of *Egypt*, by letter thus *Burraburias* King of *Cara-dunias*¹ thy brother. I am at peace. May there be much peace to thee, to thy house, thy wives, thy sons, thy land, thy Lords, thy horses, thy chariots.

'Since my fathers and thy fathers spoke good things zealously, sending eagerly to make presents,

¹ *Burnaburias* appears to have reigned about 1450 B.C., or a little later. As regards the dates of Egyptian kings, they rest on the statement (see Brugsch, *Hist.*, I., p. 395) that the star Sothis rose on the 28th of *Epiphi*, in the reign of Thothmes III., and on the date of the new moon of various months in the same reign. The Egyptian year was a year of 365 days, and therefore vague as regarded the sidereal year. The risings of Sothis (*Sirius*) are recorded ('Decree of Canopus') in the later Ptolemaic times as they occurred in connection with the Egyptian year, changing one day every four solar years; and the Rosetta stone fixes the calendar. From the rising of Sothis we should obtain a date about 1598 B.C. as falling in the reign of Thothmes III.; and from the coincidences of the new moon we should obtain 1574 B.C. as the thirty-fourth, and 1585 B.C. as the twenty-third years of his reign. He would, therefore, accede 1608 B.C. Dr. Brugsch places his accession about 1600 B.C.

and making friends—and did not they speak eagerly—lo! now my brother has sent two *manahs* of gold as a present to me. Lo! there is much gold besides, which your father sent, and as this has increased beyond what your father gave, why should you send two *manahs* of gold? Lo! I have received much, even very much gold, which remains in the temple. Enough gold has been sent. Why should you send two *manahs* of gold? But as for thee, whatever is needed in thy land send for it, let it be taken of me for thee.

‘In the time of *Curigalzu*¹ my father, all the Canaanites sent to him (saying) thus, “What sayest thou as to the setting up of the land. It is weak. What sayest thou?”

‘My father clave to thy (father). He sent to them thus, “It has been sent to me as to your discontent. If you are foes with the King of *Egypt* my brother, you must cleave to some other. Shall not I go out against you for this? Shall not I destroy you, as if you were discontented with me?” My father heard them not because of your father. Now behold *Assyria* has arrayed against me. Did not I send to you, as to their thoughts about your land? Why do they send against me? If you have pity on me it will never be done. They will fail to win these things. I have sent to thee, as a present for thee, three *manahs* of precious stones, fifteen pairs of horses for five wooden chariots.’

¹ This indicates the beginning of the Syrian wars in the reign of Amenophis III.

3 B. M.—The salutation is the same as in the preceding.

‘Since the time of *Caraindas*, since your father’s envoys to my father came to me, until now there has been good will. Now I and thou are well with each other. Your envoys have come thrice to me, making also presents, whatever was sent. And I have sent to thee whatever present has been made. As for me, is it not all an honour, and as for thee have not I honoured thee in all? Your envoy whom you send, has not he paid the twenty *manahs* of gold that he has brought? And as for the gifts that remained, is not the amount five *manahs* of gold?’

Five lines of the letter are here destroyed. On the back of the tablet it continues :

‘. the forces of the land (of *Egypt* ?) these let him gather within the year, which thy envoy says he has sent, and he shall cause the women of the princess to be guided to you, any time that you order. Let me ask for her that the speed may be greater ; and having been delayed, when he has made speed let your envoy take (them), and he shall do more than they did before. So I have told my envoy *Sindisugab* to say. So let them both station the chariots speedily. Let them come to me, and let them make proper arrangements ; so let my envoy and your envoy come to me, speedily conveyed.

‘As a present for thee I have sent thee two *manahs* of precious stones ; and (to enrich ?) your daughter

my son's wife¹ he gave a and (an amulet to cause safety ?) ; and I have sent thee as a present precious stones to the number of one thousand forty and eight ; and I sent, as your envoy was sent back with *Sindisugab*.'

4 B. M.—With the same salutation as before, is very much broken. It contains a list of presents sent in connection with the same royal marriage of a daughter of the King of Egypt to the Babylonian prince. The envoy's name was *Sutti* ; the presents included a throne of strong wood, ivory, and gold, and another of wood and gold, with other objects of gold and strong wood.

6 B.—The salutation is the same, but the Kings' names are spelt *Nabkhururia* and *Burnaburias*. This tablet is very much injured. It refers to a daughter and a promise. It continues :

' He takes her people with (him in) seven chariots, with seven chariots which he took from me ; all that belongs to her behold let me send her people to you. The Kings who of the daughter of the great King, in five chariots to your father three overseers us he (sent ?) '

About half the obverse of the letter is then lost,

¹ Apparently a Babylonian princess was to be sent to Egypt, and an Egyptian princess to Babylon. The two royal families were already allied by the marriage of Irtabi, and yet earlier of the sister of Calimmasin (1 B. M.), even if no Egyptian princess had been granted to the latter. The writer's son was probably Carakhardas, who succeeded him.

and about a quarter of the upper part of the back. It then continues :

‘ If (the arrangements) are already complete if there are no previous arrangements let to send *Zalmu* for the Royal Princess, for *Zalmu*¹ was your envoy whom I sent out, let him (come) let him take back the soldiers whom he has sought of me, and let him (take ?) . . . of the people of the neighbourhood, who being speedily sent he may take back, and let them add as many as

‘ *Khai*² your chief, whom you send, is given soldiers and a chariot of our and send plenty of soldiers with *Khai*, for the King’s daughter . . . and otherwise do not send the King’s daughter to travel Do not delay ; send speedily in the course of this year you shall send a chariot and soldiers, so gathering let them unite as many as he says (are necessary ?).

‘ Your father sent much gold to *Curigalzu* of *Curigalzu*, the quantity thereof increased in the palace so, because he heard the Kings (or great men) who gave advice, thus the gold the Kings, brotherhood, and good will, peace, and fealty the increased the silver, increased the gold, increased

‘ As thy present I have sent of precious stone. To the Lady of thy house twenty (?) of precious stones : so my wife causes me to send, because very greatly and as she desires shall it not be done,

¹ *Zalmu* was a Babylonian. See the next letter.

² *Khai* was still living in the reign of Amenophis IV.

as I rejoiced being glad let them take of me much gold for thy self let them take of me according as I may it come quickly; and has not my lord ordered thus, that your envoy should bring to his brother much so let me send to thee'

7 B.—The salutation from *Burnaburias* is the same as in the preceding letters. The letter continues:

'On the day that my brother's envoy arrived, and brought me this message, his envoy (came) wearied to my presence: he had eaten no food, and (had drunk) no strong drink the envoy you send told me the news, that he had not brought to me the caravan¹ on account of (wicked men?) from whom it was not (safe?). So he has not brought to me the caravan. The explanation of the (head man?) was, because of fear of being destroyed, which my brother has (known of). Thus as I desired explanation, not why the (chief?) did not his envoy, why he had not sent it, had not my brother's envoy he has caused to say this "Is it not that the region was at strife?" thus your brother heard this. He has sent you salutation. Who is it that has told my brother thus that the land has risen? Your brother sends with speed to salute you, as wishing to hear this. Does not he send his envoy to thee? I have told him then to say to my brother, "A great multitude has arisen, and the land is at strife: the thing is true that thy envoy thus said. As thy brother heard not that the expedition has marched

¹ *Siiri*, 'a company of merchants,' as in Hebrew.

on thee, he has asked. Has not he sent to salute thee?" So as I asked my envoy he said, "As the foe has arisen let him be destroyed." My brother, have not I ordered this?¹ And so they told me all that has happened in my brother's country, and is not all this explanation necessary? And all has thus happened in my land, and as for me is it not all needful? "The lawful command that was previously in the hands of our kingdom has been opposed" he said. We have speedily sent salutation: an interchange of messages between us has been established to your presence"

Several lines are here missing at the top of the tablet on the back, and the letter then continues:

' my salutation and your salutation with Thou thyself behold hast (sent?) thy envoy, to make known this message. So I made him wait for this. I have sent my messenger with speed, when he has rested sixty-one days, and as he said to me this "I saw the foes (but not) at all was I afraid." And to-day he is I have sent to thee making many presents. I have sent to my brother's hands, as a present for thee, (eighty?) precious stones; and I have sent to my brother five yoke of horses, which are brought this day by my envoy. I desired to send, making many presents to be sent to my brother. And whatever notification (is) needful let this notification be sent, let them

¹ Or 'advised this.' The foes attacking Egypt were at some distance from Babylonia, and the news only came by the envoy from Egypt.

take it for me from their home. I have claimed delay that they may send presenting much gold. I send notice to my brother: truly on account of my delay he has remained. The gold I notify I have sent. I return explanation to your presence. Have not I despatched everything to my brother? Let him behold the notice: let him sign for whatever is sent I was anxious lest when I sent a notice my brother did not see (it) . . . thus I have returned that which my brother signed, I have sent (it) for the gold that they brought me. As for the gifts I so despatch thou shalt thus (reply?); does not

‘*Zalmu* my envoy whom I send to you is responsible to us if have plundered. I have made *Biriyamaza* responsible for (If) again they have plundered, I have made *Pamakhu* responsible in part for to your land complete.

‘. . . . they have sworn let my envoy . . . to the presence of my brother let him be sent back to me his message: let him salute’

8 B.—The same salutation from *Burnaburias* to Amenophis IV. The letter continues:

‘For this also my brother we speak with good will eagerly, and we cause this to be said thus with eagerness (or speed) in reply. As for us we have been troubled indeed. Lo! the merchants who have returned with a charge, from the land of Canaan, have spoken in my hearing. They were anxious on account of the charge from my brother’s presence,

as *Sumatta*¹ the son of *Malumme* from the city of *Khinnatunu*,² in the land of *Canaan*, and *Sutatna* son of *Sarratu* of the city of *Acca*³ sent their soldiers: they perceived my merchants, and they spoiled our I sent to you let him tell you.

‘The *Canaanites* in your country, and the Kings . . . in your country have violently cut off the silver that they carried—a present And the men who are my servants has smitten them. He destroyed our (wealth?); and as these chiefs he has caused to be slain, it is clear that the man is indeed my foe. And indeed they are slaying a chief of your envoys: when he was an envoy between us he was slain, and his people have been hostile to you, and the chief my foe, *Sumatta*, dogging his steps, caused him to be slain; he saw him and slew him. And the other chief *Sutatna* the *Acchoite* (though at first they repelled him?) sent his chiefs against him he said thus. Behold this ask as to this, truly you know I have sent thee as a present one *manah* of precious stones . . . my envoy speedily truly my brother has known do not (blame?) my envoy . . . let him be speedily sent’

¹ *Sumatta*: compare Shammah (Gen. xxxvi. 13-17), a proper name perhaps from the same root.

² *Khinna tuni* would mean ‘inhabiting *Khinna*,’ see *Khini* (64 B. M., p. 25), but more probably Hannathon in lower Galilee east of Accho is intended, now *Kefr’Anân*.

³ See *Zatatna* and *Surata*, kings of Accho (93 B., 95 B.), pp. 109, 110. This, taken with the name of Neboyapiza in the latter letter, indicates a date early in the reign of Amenophis IV.

These two last letters of Burnaburias are important as showing the disturbances in Syria, also mentioned by Dusratta (23 B.) early in the reign of Amenophis IV.

28 B.—A very broken tablet containing a long list of presents supposed to have been sent by Burnaburias, and consisting mainly of gold and gems.

Letters from Alasiya.

7 B. M.—‘To the King of *Egypt* my brother by letter, thus the King of the Land of *Alasiya*¹ thy brother. I am at peace. Peace be to my brother. May there be much peace to his house, to his wives, to his son, to his horses, his chariots, and in his land. My brother’s present (is) fifty (pounds of bronze?) five yoke of horses. I have sent my brother’s present (and) my brother’s envoy with speed, and let my brother despatch my messenger again with speed, and let me ask a gift which and In his letter it is directed what to send. He has sent silver. Let him send, not refusing the explanation of my envoy *Cuniea, Ebiluna, Sirumma, Usbarra, Belraam*,² the explanation which

¹ *Alasiya* was apparently a maritime region beyond the tributary Egyptian states, and not either in Babylonia (Shinar) nor in the Hittite country (5 B. M.); probably it is the Elishah of the Bible on the south shores of Asia Minor. (See my note ‘P. E. F. Quarterly Statement,’ January, 1892, p. 44.) Elishah (Gen. x. 4; Ezek. xxvii. 7) was a maritime region. The diffusion westwards of a Semitic population in Cilicia has long been suspected to have occurred early.

² Semitic personal names, showing the worship of Ea and Baal in Elishah.

. these things which are with
my'

12 B.—The salutation is the same, mentioning only one son of the King of Egypt.

'My brother has speedily sent my envoys (under escort?), and I heard your salutation. The chief (and) my merchants my brother has despatched speedily (under escort?): has not your chief approached with my merchants and my fleet (or ship)?'

15 B.—A much broken letter from the same, referring to the sending of copper. The last words appear to be 'let him come returning year by year.'

11 B.—The salutation is the same, including 'thy house, thy concubines,¹ thy sons,' etc. This is a very difficult letter, but appears to read: 'Why, my brother, do you utter this message to me? My brother has known nothing at all that I have not done. As for me, behold the Chiefs of the land of the *Lucci*² whom you confounded in my land, I (was) glad should be conquered.'

'My brother you say to me, "Lo the Chiefs of thy land are with them," but I (say) my brother has not known this that they are with them; (or) if they are Chiefs of my land. But send thou to me and do as I wish.

¹ The signs *SAL US* indicate 'female servants.'

² *Lukki*, perhaps the Lycians, or perhaps the Ligyes of Herodotus, on the borders of Matiene (VII., 72). They appear to be the Laka who lived in the Taurus, the Leku of Egyptian records (Brugsch, II., pp. 44, 54, 116, 124) mentioned with other tribes of North Syria, and with the Shakalisha — perhaps Cilicians.

‘Do not you know the Chiefs of my land? Do not make this message (even) if they are Chiefs of my land. But do as you wish.

‘Lo! my brother, as you do not send my envoy, this letter will speak for me as a brother of the King. It is brought by your envoy.

‘Moreover I have perceived neither hindrance nor evil in what was done, and lo! my brother, are not you at rest in your heart?’

5 B. M.—The salutation is in the fullest form—nine lines. The letter is almost perfect, and continues:

‘Lo I have sent to thy presence five hundred pieces of copper (or bronze) as a present for my brother; as brother, little copper is found (is it not so) in your midst. When the power of *An-Amar-ut*¹ my Lord smote the whole of the men of my land, and none made bronze, also my brother it has not been found in thy midst.

‘Your envoy with my envoy I hope to despatch, and whatever my brother requires of copper I also have sent thee. A Brother thou art to me. Much gold and silver he has sent to me. My brother, God (*Elohim*) gives me also gold. And to my brother’s presence I have sent thee whatever my brother desires. Moreover, my brother, do not you

¹ *An-Amar-ut*, ‘sun disk,’ I have supposed to be the name of *Khu-en-Aten*, ‘glory of the Sun disk,’ a title apparently of Amenophis IV. (Brugsch, ‘Hist. Egypt,’ I., p. 441); but it may, of course, refer to the god so called (see note, p. 25). The King of Egypt is called the sun god in many of the letters in this collection.

desire my envoy? And my brother has given me also men of his bosom. My brother has sent me two (precious vases?) and has despatched to me one of the Chiefs of illustrious birth.¹

‘Moreover, my brother, the Chiefs of my land say to me, that they have walked for me according to the letters of the King of Egypt; and, my brother, the decrees also, and the

‘Moreover as a Chief of the land of *Alasiya* has died in the land of Egypt, and his possessions are in your land, and his son and his wife are with me; and, my brother, the possessions of the Chiefs of *Alasiya* are Give them also, my brother, into the hands of my envoy. My brother, has not he abode in your midst, as your envoy abode three years in my land, because the power of *An-Amar-ut* is in my land; and with my family (and) my wife, is the son of him who has died even now, my brother. I hope to despatch (under escort?) your envoy with my envoy; and I have sent a present to thee, my brother. Moreover my brother has sent the gold that I desired of thee—much gold, my brother. And let my brother send the possessions that I ask of thee. And, whatever were the messages, my brother has done all, and as for thee whatever messages you utter to me, I also have done. With the King of the *Hittites*, and with the

¹ The sign KHU means ‘bird,’ but also ‘glory,’ and ‘prince.’ *Ilid KHUMES*, I take to mean ‘born of princes.’ Others have rendered it ‘who trains birds,’ but it would rather mean ‘who gives birth to birds,’ which is impossible.

King of *Shinar*, with these I am not familiar. Whatever gifts they have sent to me, and I have rendered twice the amount to thee. Thy envoy has been sent to me to serve, and my envoy has been sent to thee to serve.'

6 B. M.—'Thus the King of *Alasiya* to the King of *Egypt* my brother. Let him learn: behold I have been at peace, and my land is mighty; and because of your salutation peace be to you, peace be to your house, your sons, your wives, your horses, your chariots, your land. May there be much peace for ever, my brother.

'Lo! you shall send to me. Why do not you send your envoy to my city again; and I heard not. Lo! how much you afflict me, and I am not made acquainted with all in your midst, and I wonder at this. And now I have despatched my envoy to your city, and I have also despatched to you, by the hands of my envoy for you, one hundred (pounds?) of bronze again. And your envoy carries now gifts—a couch of strong wood, enriched with gold, and chariots enriched with gold, and two horses, and forty-two (vases?), and fifty gold (vases?), and two cups, and fourteen pieces of strong wood, and seventeen large vessels of good make from the (?); four (vases?), and four gold (vases?) the gifts of which none'

The next thirteen lines are almost entirely destroyed. The letter continues on the back of the tablet.

‘ *Alasiya* my merchants with thy merchants, and with them ; and truly there is good faith and my envoy will go to your city, and your envoy shall go to my city. Moreover why will you not despatch for me (unguents and vases ?) I (say), and I will order what you wish, and that which is useful (serving well ?) in fulfilment of the decree, I order to be given thee. Behold you sit on the throne of your Kingdom.’

13 B.—A short fragment, too broken to read, includes the names of the countries of *Egypt* and of *Alasiya*, with salutations. It includes a reference to merchants, and apparently to presents, nine lines in all.

14 B.—The writing and the clay appear to show that this also came from *Alasiya*. It included twenty-two lines, but is much broken. The following may be read :

‘ Lo ! as a present to thee I have sent five pieces of copper, three (pounds) of good copper, one (?), one (weapon ?)—a ship load. Also my brother these men of this royal ship and as for thee, the ship speedily is sent. Thou art my brother. You desire a salutation, and I have given it to thee. This man, the servant of the King my Lord, does not he approach before them ? and thou, my brother, send him speedily (under escort ?).’

16 B.—The ordinary salutation is much broken, but the writing, and the clay of the tablet, seem to show that the letter came from *Alasiya*. The second

paragraph mentions countries called *Umdhi* . . and *Tim* . . ., possibly Hamath and Damascus. The third paragraph continues :

‘ And now behold why do you your fortress more than my fortress; and who is it that has vexed us? It is the abode of an hundred sons of violence. So now my brother, because of this, the city *Khumme* has meditated evil, and if why not gather, and to preserve, since it is necessary that they should be protected from what’

The remainder, including a note for the King’s scribe, is too broken to read.

17 B.—A mere fragment, apparently from *Alasiya*, contains a list of presents, including five wooden thrones (or chairs), objects of silver, a wooden footstool, and a weight of one *manah* of some other substance.

Letters from unknown Princes.

18 B.—‘ The message of *Nisba* ?¹ King of the land of (*Caldi*?) to *Khuri* (Horus)² King of the land of Egypt by letter. Peace be to the . . . of

¹ Perhaps *Nisba* . . . is the same as *Nazibugas*, King of Babylonia about 1430 B.C., the country being that of the *Caldi*, or Chaldeans, who inhabited the country between Babylon and the Persian Gulf in the eighth century B.C. (‘Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.’ I., p. 78). He was not of the family of Burnaburias, and was slain by the Assyrians.

² Horus, the successor of Amenophis IV. (Brugsch, ‘Hist. Egypt,’ I., p. 462), about 1430 B.C., or later.

thy land, to thy . . . thy sons, thy house, thy soldiers, thy chariots; to all that is thine be much peace.

‘My envoys I sent to your father repeatedly, and the desire that your father desired of us (was granted), truly we were very friendly. I refused nothing that your father sent for; and I did everything, and the desire of your father that your father desired I never refused: everything was granted. When your father ruled he often sent. Why has my Lord then not done the same?’

‘Behold, my brother, you are exalted to the throne of your father; and as your father and I thought presents necessary between us, now also I lament that this is prevented between us. I am quite distracted. And I spoke what was desired by the of your father. Let the same . . . increase with my brother. It has ceased between us which was your father’s desire. you do not order to go out: (I have sent) *manahs* of gold, one to my Lord the King, and two treasures for the women but you are very silent; and as to their instructions have been many, my brother.’

The back of the tablet is broken at the top.

‘. . . . and if my brother . . . my let him decide these things for my brother to give me. Behold so my chariots have waited to receive a message from my brother. I have explained these things; and whatever my brother needs send for it; let me send it to you.

‘Now I have sent you as your present one lump of molten silver, five *manahs* in weight; one lump of silver (?) three *manahs* by weight; and two large gum-trees.’¹

29 B.—‘To my Lord the King of Egypt my father, by letter thus *Zi(dana?)*² the King’s son, thy son. May there be much peace in presence of my Lord my father. During my Lord’s reign your envoys have often travelled on the road to the land of the *Hittites*, and have appeared before you; and I have sent a present for thee, my father, and a message. . . . your envoys Now your envoys are returning to you, from the land of the *Hittites*. I myself am sending my envoys with thy envoys, my father, and, with thy gift, I have sent you sixteen young men as bearers; and as gold is needed here, and my father has sent gold, whatever is needed by my Lord, my father, send for it. I pledge it you.’

The following appears to be the contemporary

¹ *Nacatuv*, the Hebrew *necoth* (Gen. xxxvii. 25; xliii. 11) is among the presents sent to Egypt by Jacob, and taken by the Ishmaelites to Egypt with Joseph. It appears to be the Arabic *Nakâh*, the *Astragalus*, from which gum tragacanth is extracted. Some commentators, however, understand the *Styrax* or mock orange, common in Palestine and Syria, and found in Asia Minor (Arabic, *Abhar*).

² *Zidana* may be *Zitana* the Phœnician (134 B., see p. 26) who deserted, and who seems to have been possibly the chief of *Arvad*, who aided *Aziru*. The term ‘king’s son’ is probably only a profession of obedience. *Arvad* was on the way to the Hittite country.

history of the reigns of Egyptian and Asiatic Kings noticed in these letters or otherwise known :¹

<i>Approximate date</i> B.C.	<i>Egypt.</i>	<i>Mitani.</i>
1550	Amenophis II.	Sitatama.
1530	Thothmes IV.	Suttarna.
1500	Amenophis III.	Artasumara.
1460	Amenophis IV.	Dusratta.
1430	Horus.	—
<i>Approximate date</i> B.C.	<i>Assyria.</i>	<i>Babylonia.</i>
1550	Assurnadinakhi.	—
1530	Assurnirari.	Calimmasin.
1500	Buzur Assur.	Curigalzu.
1460	Assurubalid.	{ Caraindas. { Burnaburias.
1430	Balnirari.	{ Carakhardas. { Nazibugas.

The dates are uncertain, and placed by some writers about thirty years later ; the Kings' reigns

¹ The Hittite contemporary, *circa* 1480-1450 B.C., was *Aidugama*, of Kadesh ; he was succeeded by *Saplel*, whose son was *Maurasar*, who had two sons, *Mautur* and *Khetasar* : the latter ruling about 1360 B.C. (Chabas, 'Voyage,' p. 334), giving four generations in 120 years. *Saplel* and *Maurasar* were independent of Egypt. *Mautur* (who was murdered) fought with Seti I. of Egypt. *Khetasar* made a treaty with Rameses II. All these names appear to be Mongolic, as is that of *Khetasar's* envoy *Tartisebu*, and those of other Hittite princes named in Egyptian records (Chabas, p. 329), viz. : *Peis*, *Galbatus*, *Samaritas* (compare *Arla-Sumara*, *Dusratta's* brother), *Totar*, *Tiatar*, *Tarkunas* (compare *Tarkondara*, 10 B.), *Gamaïs* (compare *Aidugama*), *Tarkatasas*, *Tzuatzas*, *Rabsuna*, *Matzilima*, and *Pisiris*. Many of these names are compounded with *Tar*, and *Tarka*, 'chief,' and others have the Mongol termination in *s*. All may be translated as Mongol words.

overlapped each other, and the generations were not quite contemporary, as has been shown in the table of alliances with Dusratta's family.

Mythological Tablets.

There are several fragments of this nature (234-237 B.) in addition to two fairly complete tablets.

240 B.—The first five lines are too broken to read; the text then continues :

‘ “so let me have patience” thus in his prayer he said impatiently he waited seven days he did not give light on earth. The God of Heaven sent his messenger the winged God (saying), “He is longed for, they are afraid, he has not shone on earth since seven days.” The winged messenger said to him, “Behold O Adar son of Ocean, God awaits impatiently on high a message as to these things. Explain O noble one. He speaks peace from his throne. O thou divine son of Ocean, Heaven sends down this message . . . he sends a messenger to look for you your heart Why do you stop? Whom do you curse? Has not this destruction wrought us ruin on earth? I (say) now, who has done it : who has wrought us ruin on earth? Tammuz and Istar have diligently enquired.¹ Their cry goes forth to me a message of

¹ Or ‘have been greatly alarmed.’ *Tammuz* was the sun, who is called in Gudea's text ‘Lord of the lifeless land below.’ *Istar*, the mother goddess, sometimes the mother, sometimes the bride of Tammuz, is identified with the moon. She had many names and titles, some from attributes, some from her local

woe. To God . . . they have bowed the face, praying a prayer. They have despaired: they have blamed thee for thy absence. 'We suppose he has eaten deadly food'—you do not eat. 'We suppose he has drunk deadly drink'—you do not drink. 'We suppose perchance he has eaten the fat: we suppose he drinks oil may be.' For shame. They have thus waited for a long time pining for a message. You perceive clearly all that I said, the message of God is uttered O Adar. These things he impatiently awaits. Carry yourself to my presence."

'He came before the God of heaven: to tread the (courts) of heaven he went up to heaven above him. At the gate of heaven he rested him. Tammuz and Istar were sent out to him. They said to him, "Explain O hero Adar. O noble one why did you stop, O Adar whom did you curse? Have not I grieved. Who has done this to us that there is destruction on earth? Tammuz and Istar have zealously enquired: their cry came forth to me." When Adar went to the presence of God, God spoke as he drew nigh. "Explain this. Go too Adar, why do you cause one to await these things impatiently?" Adar answered God, "My Lord, at my Lord's wish, from the bounds of the deep I have beheld my Lord, leaving the deep and its hollows.

shrines. The name is Akkadian, and was converted into Ashtoreth by the Semitic peoples. It originally meant 'the ruler of light.' It retains its old form as *Astar* on the Moabite stone, and as *Atthar* (a male deity) in Arabic inscriptions.

My people have feared for light, the lament calls for me the prayer to my Lord sufficed us, burning my heart. 'You do not shine,' they said 'Let him turn his heart and the cloud will be cleared. Wherefore O Ocean do Heaven and Earth witness that mankind is unblessed. He hardened his heart to do this thing. A decree is made for us as to the food of life. Let the food of life perish, let the drink of life not be drunk, let the lees be untasted, let the oil fail, let there be confusion." God spake to him thus, "They trust us against this. Go too Adar, why do not you fulfil the duty? there is no living for anyone." Exclaimed the Son of Ocean, "My Lord," he said, "the failing of worship is my grievance." Let them pray for his light in their lands.'

This appears to be a legend with a moral.

82 B.M.—'Lo! the Gods who dwell in space sent a messenger to their sister the bride of Hell.¹ "Let us behold thee, we (say), and come thou up to us. Let the land of thy childhood receive this message." The bride of Hell sent this message, "Death (or Fate) prevents my travelling to go up to heaven Death envoy them, many times they ran his lady I have wedded the Lady'

Some five lines are here lost, and the subject on the back of the tablet appears to refer to the Gods

¹ This goddess is well known in Akkadian texts as *NINKIGAL*, 'Queen of the Dead Land,' or as *DAMKINA*, 'The Earth Wife.'

who guarded the gates of Hades, to prevent Death from coming out.

‘(In the first gate was) the God of (judgment?) in the second the God in the third the God of thunder, in the fourth the God of destruction, in the fifth the God of protection, in the sixth the God of resistance, in the seventh the God of strength, in the eighth the God of discernment, in the ninth the God of pursuit, in the tenth the God of (slaughter?), in the eleventh the God of the bright flame, in the twelfth the God who confounds, in the thirteenth the living God, in the fourteenth gate abode the God (whose glory rests concealed in secret?). As all this conjunction prevented the going forth of Death (he said) thus, “I mock at it. They have established her among the shades. She is bound, the bride of Hell, in the burning flames.” Out of her prison she heard this, writhing, burning, fearing lest he should slay her. “Smite me not, my brother, I beseech thee for mercy.” *Nergal*¹ heard her, he let fall his hands, he received the lamentation. “Thou truly art my husband, am not I thy wife: have not you indeed received power over wide lands: was not she faithful who has been oppressed by your hand? Thou truly art Lord, I truly am Lady.” *Nergal* heard what she said. He favoured her, he kissed

¹ *Nergal*, the lion-headed god, seems here to be the same as *Namtar*, ‘death,’ or ‘fate.’ His name in Akkadian may indeed mean ‘King Death.’ The infernal deity was usually represented (as on the famous Palmyra tablet for instance, where he is associated with a goddess, also lion-headed, by the bank of the infernal river) with a lion or tiger head, and open jaws.

her, he pardoned the intent. "Whatsoever you desire of us, since you are a wife whom I delight me in, those things behold I have granted."

This legend evidently resembles that of Persephone, carried away by the infernal deity. It bears some resemblance also to the well-known legend of the descent of Istar to Hades, which is apparently a myth of the phases of the moon—Istar being stripped gradually of her glory for seven days, and gradually reglorified for another seven. The previous legend of the Sun is also remarkable for the name Adar, which was that of the 'dark' month of January, when the sun was hidden by clouds. The whole of the Babylonian legends (like those of the Aryans) may probably be explained in like manner. The proof afforded of their early dissemination is highly interesting.

APPENDIX.

The Letter of Tarkhundara.

THE existence of two letters in the Tell Amarna collection, written in quite a different language to that of the remainder, is undisputed. The longest of them, by Dusratta, the Minyan king (27 B.), consists of 518 lines, and is by far the longest in the whole collection. I have translated it elsewhere (*Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, October, 1892). It is written in a Mongol dialect, akin to the Akkadian of Mesopotamia, and to the so-called Proto-Medic of the Behistun texts, the nearest living representative being the pure Turkic speech of Central Asia. The other letter, from Tarkhundara, the Hittite prince of Rezep, in the land of Ikatai, north of Palmyra, is apparently in the same language, which was no doubt Hittite; and this agrees with the fact that Dusratta calls himself the Hittite suzerain. The transcript given by Dr. Winckler differs from that previously published, in important particulars which affect the sense; but it had already been clearly perceived that the precative form of the verb

is the same as in Akkadian. This discovery indicates that the syntax of an agglutinative language must be expected; and neither prepositions, nor a verb preposed to its subject can be admitted. I have been unable to trace any resemblance to the Vannic language—with which it has been proposed to compare the Hittite—in this letter. The Vannic, as I have attempted to show by comparison with ancient Persian, was, both in syntax and by vocabulary, an Aryan language, and appears to have been very like the Lycian of a few centuries later (see my paper in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, October, 1891, pp. 640-643, as to Vannic and Lycian). The following is the letter of Tarkhundara, whose name alone is enough to show that he was a Hittite; it consists of thirty-eight lines, of which I omit the last seven, which enumerate the presents sent:

1. (Mama?) *Nimutriya Sar-gal Sar kur Mizzari*
2. (ci) *na Tarkhundara du Sar Arzapi ci tima*
3. (Kakti?) *Mi Kuru in Ezun mi Nin na mi
Tur na mi*
4. *Gum na Galgalas bir na Paz Kurra zun mi*
5. *Bi ibbi id mi kurkurzun mi gananta*
6. *Khuuman Kuruin*
7. *Dukka (Kakta?) Khuuman Kuruin*
8. *Ezunti Ninnati Turnati gumnati galgalas*
9. *Birnati Paz Kurra zun ti bi ibbi id ti*
10. *Kurzunti Khuuman Kuruin Siestu.*
11. *Kalatta ui e nu un Irsappa*

12. *Gum Khalugari attanmi ina ú mani Tur-rak ti*
13. *ANUT mi kuin Dam anni ú pidaan zi*
14. *nu us silil khupi ini—an—sag dusi*
15. *Kalata uppa Sal Khuun I zukha lalia kin*
16. *Kuru anta*
17. *A ni yatta la mu kue das khat raa :*
18. *ubbi pirat mu gidda uppa Nin DHI*
19. *Arad as : ta guru Khalugari atattin ammelat*
20. *Gum Khalugari atan egir babaraa khudak*
21. *Na inat ú pi andu*
22. *Arad ta ú pi anzi ci da anzi kukta turrak ti*
23. *Gum Khalugari as mi is Gum Khalugari atta*
24. *Kuviltu ele id na saggas*
25. *Nu mu antu sal subu guru gaas kurias ubbis tus la un*
26. *Zinnuk Khuumanda*
27. *Nu Khattu sassa Kur Egaid*
28. *na at kala bi ibbi es sar uppa talun lanuiz*
29. *cissa talissa Irsappa Khalugari*
30. *En sukha atlia kin ci lal bi*
31. *xx mana kin, etc.*

Many words in this text are certain, on account of their ideographic or picture meaning. The pronouns, particles, and forms of the verb are also the same as those of the Minyan language of Dusratta's letter; but many parts must remain doubtful till

more is known of the language. The meaning appears to me to be somewhat as follows :

‘ This letter to Nimutriya (Amenophis III.) the great King, the King of Egypt, from Tarkhundara the King of the land of Arzapi (*Rezeeph*) says. I am at peace. May there be peace to my abodes, to my wives, to my sons, to all my chiefs—the soldiers—to my cavalry, which are in my power, to the whole of my Lands. It desires that there may be peace. May there be peace to thy abodes, to thy wives, to thy sons, to thy chiefs all of them, to thy soldiers, to thy cavalry which are in thy power, to thy lands exceedingly.

‘ A (loving ?) message it speaks. Irsappa my speedy messenger entrusting, I present to thee my Sun God, by him, a girl, whom I send from her mother. Of no man is she possessed, being youthful. He who takes this woman, a bagful of gold (as) a present (is) to take. She having arrived take thou this precious gift (to increase friendship ?). She whom I am sending, her the lady *Thi* (queen of Amenophis III.) is afterwards to take to be a servant. To thee the messenger is despatched, being made ready. The messenger hasting, afterwards let a letter be made, an assurance which I shall have. The servant whom I am to send to thee—to send to thy land, being brought, the messenger shall give the girl to thee. When (this is) so, the messenger having come speedily, favour thou what he takes. Will it not be so ? The woman being liked (send a reply ?). This land will be grateful. Let it be so done.

‘ The friendly Hittite prince of the land of Egaid,

sending what is described, asks that thou shalt accept (thus) stated. Irsappa is given a bag. It is gold: by weight twenty manahs of gold (£300).'

The list of presents follows, including precious stones, and a throne of strong wood, and other articles.

The following words require explanation: *Attan*, 'speedy'; *atta*, 'speeding'; *atattin*, 'expedited,' from the Turkic root *at*, 'to impel'; *silil*, 'possessed,' passive from Akkadian *silā*, 'to dominate'; *iniansag*, 'youthful,' 'in condition of youth,' from *in*, 'young,' in Turkic speech; *kalatta*, 'message'; *kalata*, 'bringer'; *kala*, 'sending,' from Turkic root *kel*, 'to fetch'; *ina*, 'entrust'; *inat*, 'assurance,' from Turkic root *in*, 'to trust'; *Yatta*, from Turkic root *Yat*, 'to reach'; *Babara*, 'document,' Akkadian *babar*; *kukta*, 'brought,' Turkic root *kok*, 'bring'; *eleidna*, 'what he takes,' Turkic root *il*, 'to take'; *saggas*, 'favour thou,' Akkadian *saaga*, 'favour'; *supu*, 'liked,' 'agreeable,' Turkic *sob*, *sev*, 'pleasant'; *tuslaun*, 'grateful,' Turkic *tos*, 'to thank'; *zinnuk*, 'accomplished,' from *si*, 'to make,' with the causative *-in* and participial ending; *cissa*, 'thus,' *cii* 'as,' is 'thus,' in Akkadian; *talissa*, 'stated,' Turkic *tel*, 'to say,' 'explain.' The other words occur either in Dusratta's letter or are familiar in Akkadian. The forms of the verb, such as the imperative ending in *s*, the active infinitive *an-*, and the common *du*, 'be,' 'have,' are the same as in the Proto-Medic, which is nearer than the Akkadian, it seems, to the Hittite.

Note on the Supposed Date of the Exodus.

The arguments which have been brought forward in support of the supposed date of the Exodus as occurring in the time of Minephtah II. are two :

First. That the name of the city of Rameses cannot be older than the time of Rameses II. (Brugsch, 'Hist.,' ii., p. 353), and that, as it is mentioned in the account of the Exodus (Exod. xii. 37), the event must be as late as the time of Rameses II. This argument contains an evident fallacy, since the date proved would, were it proved at all, be that of the *writer* of the narrative, not of the *event* at all. But the argument also overlooks the fact that the land of Rameses is mentioned in the time of Jacob (Gen. xlvii. 11) as well. If the conclusion is to be that Jacob therefore lived in or after the time of Rameses II., the Exodus would be brought down to 250 or 400 years after his reign—that is to say, to the time of David or of Ahab. If the Biblical statements are quoted at all it is impossible to argue on one to the exclusion of others.

Second. That in a papyrus supposed to be of the time of Seti II. a scribe reports the pursuit of 'two servants' to Succoth, Etam and Migdol, which throws a striking light on the Exodus (Brugsch, ii., p. 132). I fail to see that this is the case. Two servants flying from the land, by the same route to the desert which Israel followed, might probably have been encountered in any age, and might have been of almost any race. I have been reminded of the

recent discovery of the 'store cities' mentioned in the Bible (Exod. i. 11), but the fixing of their sites has no bearing on this question of date at all.

The *Aper* people mentioned in Egypt as late as the time of Rameses IV. near Suez, and as slaves of Rameses II. (Brugsch, 'Hist.,' ii., pp. 88, 129), were once thought to be Hebrews, but are not so regarded by Dr. Brugsch, who makes them 'redskins.' In the inscription of Hamamat, in the time of Rameses IV., they are called 'Aperu of the Anu.' The Anu were a well-known Nubian people. The chiefs of the *Apers* are also mentioned in the time of Rameses III., to the number of 2,083 (Chabas, 'Voyage d'un Égyptien,' p. 211). The name is not written as that of the Hebrews would probably be written in Egyptian.

The details of the Hebrew chronology, and the statement of the same in the New Testament (Acts xiii. 20), agree with the calculation of the Book of Kings (1 Kings vi. 1), against the views of Dr. Brugsch and of Bunsen. There is indeed much difference of opinion among writers on Egypt as to this subject, and Sir G. Wilkinson placed the Exodus as early as the reign of Thothmes III. It is on the statements of Manetho, not on any monumental basis, that the views here disputed are founded.

LIST OF TOWNS CONQUERED BY THOTHMES III.,
FROM THE KARNAK BAS-RELIEFS.

Since the appearance of De Rougé's memoir on these towns (*Revue Archéologique*, November, 1861, p. 376), the subject has been treated by Mariette, Brugsch, Maspero, Tomkins, and others, and recently ('Records of the Past,' New Series, vol. v.). Many of the new suggestions which I made in 1881 in the 'Memoirs' ('Special Papers Volume,' pp. 176-195), and earlier in the *Quarterly Statement*, P.E.F., have been adopted by others—though not always with due recognition—but other proposals have been added which require correction. It is not enough to look out names on the Survey maps, if the 'Memoirs' are not consulted. Various recent writers have so been led to fix upon rocks, sheepfolds, and twelfth-century monasteries where no remains of ancient cities exist, and have not read the notes on these names provided in the 'Memoirs.' Such identifications are quite untenable. In the following revised lists I have indicated by a star those names which, after reading the works of others, I believe I was the first to propose as identifications. In all cases the sites

are those of ancient towns, ruined or still inhabited.

Towns in Palestine.

	EGYPTIAN.	HEBREW OR CLASSIC.	MODERN.
I	<i>Kadesu.</i>	Kadesh on Orontes.	<i>Kades.*</i>
2	<i>Maketi.</i>	Megiddo.	<i>Mujedda'.*</i>
3	<i>Khazi.</i>	Gaza (?).	<i>Ghuzzeh (?)</i> .
4	<i>Jethuna.</i>	Gitta (?)	<i>Jett.*</i>
5	<i>'Ansu.</i>		<i>'Anzah (?)*</i>
6	<i>Tabkhu.</i>		
7	<i>Bamai.</i>		<i>Ba'ineh (?)</i> .*
8	<i>Kamata.</i>	Kamid (?).	<i>Kamid.*</i>
9	<i>Tutina.</i>	Dothan.	<i>Dothân.</i>
10	<i>Rabana.</i>	Rabbith.	<i>Râba.*</i>
11	<i>Kereththenau.</i>	Kartan.	
12	<i>Marma.</i>	Merom (?).	<i>Meirân (?)</i> .
13	<i>Tamesku.</i>	Damascus.	<i>Dimesk.</i>
14	<i>Atara.</i>	Edrei.	<i>Edh Dhr'a.*</i>
15	<i>Aubila.</i>	Abila.	<i>Abil.</i>
16	<i>Hammatu.</i>	Hammath.	<i>el Hummâm.</i>
17	<i>Akidu.</i>		
18	<i>Shemana.</i>	Simonias (?).	<i>Semânîeh (?)</i> .
19	<i>Bartu.</i>		<i>Bîreh*</i> (in Galilee).
20	<i>Madna.</i>	Madon.	<i>Madîn.*</i>
21	<i>Sarna.</i>	Lasharon.	<i>Sarona*</i> (in Galilee).
22	<i>Tubi.</i>		<i>Taiyibeh*</i> (in Galilee).

	EGYPTIAN.	HEBREW OR CLASSIC.	MODERN.
23	<i>Batzna.</i>	Bitzanaim.	<i>Bessûm.*</i>
24	<i>Amashna.</i>	Amathus (?).	<i>Amata (?)**</i>
25	<i>Masakh.</i>		<i>Mes-hah</i> (in Galilee).
26	<i>Kana.</i>		<i>Kanah (?)</i> (in Galilee).
27	<i>Arna.</i>		<i>Reineh (?)**</i> (in Galilee).
28	<i>Astaratû.</i>	Ashtoreth.	<i>Tell Ashterah.</i>
29	<i>Anaurpaa.</i>	Raphon (?)	<i>Râfa (?)</i> .
30	<i>Makata.</i>	Maachah.	<i>Abil Kumh.*</i>
31	<i>Lautza.</i>	Laish.	<i>Luweizeh* (near</i> <i>Banias).</i>
32	<i>Hatzara.</i>	Hazor.	<i>Jebel Hadireh.*</i>
33	<i>Pa-hurah.</i>	Horem (?).	<i>Hârah (?)</i> .
34	<i>Keneratu.</i>	Chinneroth.	
35	<i>Samana.</i>	Salamis (?).	<i>Sellâneh (?)**</i>
36	<i>Admam.</i>	Adami.	<i>ed Damieh</i> (Galilee).
37	<i>Kasuna.</i>	Kishion.	
38	<i>Senama.</i>	Shunem.	<i>Sulem (Galilee).</i>
39	<i>Mashala.</i>	Misheal.	<i>M'aisleh.*</i>
40	<i>Aksap.</i>	Achshaph.	<i>Yasîf.*</i>
41	<i>Kebathuan.</i>	Gabatha.	<i>Jebâta.*</i>
42	<i>Taanak.</i>	Taanach.	<i>Ta'anik.*</i>
43	<i>Ibl'amu.</i>	Ibleam.	<i>Yebla.*</i>
44	<i>Kenet Asna.</i>	Engannim (?).	<i>Jenîn (?)**</i>
45	<i>Ratau Arka.</i>		<i>Arrâkah (?)**</i>
46	<i>Aina.</i>	Anem.	<i>'Anîn.*</i>
47	<i>Aak.</i>		<i>Ajja (?)**</i>

	EGYPTIAN.	HEBREW OR CLASSIC.	MODERN.
48	<i>Ras Kades.</i>	Kadesh (Issa- char).	<i>Tell Kedes.*</i>
49	<i>Kalimna.</i>		<i>Jellameh.*</i>
50	<i>Bar (or Bal).</i>		
51	<i>Shemesh Aduma.</i>		<i>Admah (?)**</i>
52	<i>Anuhertu.</i>	Anaharath.	<i>En N'aûrah.</i>
53	<i>Apl.</i>	(i.e., Ophel.)	<i>Fûleh.*</i>
54	<i>Apl.</i>		<i>Afûleh.*</i>
55	<i>Hashbu.</i>		
56	<i>Tasulat (or Tasurat).</i>		
57	<i>Nekebu.</i>	Nekeb.	<i>Seiyâdeh.*</i>
58	<i>Ashushhen.</i>	Shihin.	<i>'Ayûn Sh'aîn.*</i>
59	<i>Ranama.</i>	Rimmon (?).	<i>Rummâneh(?)**</i>
60	<i>Irta (or Irza).</i>		<i>Irtah (?)**</i>
61	<i>Mahza.</i>		
62	<i>Ipu.</i>	Joppa.	<i>Yâfa.</i>
63	<i>Kentu.</i>		<i>Kefr Jennis (?)**</i>
64	<i>Luden.</i>	Lod.	<i>Ludd.</i>
65	<i>Aanau.</i>	Ono.	<i>Kefr 'Ana.</i>
66	<i>Apuken.</i>	Aphek (?).	<i>Fukîn (?)**</i>
67	<i>Suka.</i>	Shochoh.	<i>Shuweikeh.</i>
68	<i>Ihmam.</i>		<i>El Kheimch(?)**</i>
69	<i>Khabizana.</i>		
70	<i>Kenetu.</i>		<i>Jennata.*</i>
71	<i>Makdal.</i>		<i>Mejdeleh.*</i>
72	<i>Aphten.</i>		<i>Fattûneh.*</i>
73	<i>Shebtuna.</i>		<i>Shebtîn.</i>
74	<i>Dia (or Dial or Diar).</i>		
75	<i>Naun.</i>	Naamah.	<i>Na'aneh.*</i>
76	<i>Hadida.</i>		<i>Hadîd.*</i>

	EGYPTIAN.	HEBREW OR CLASSIC.	MODERN.
77	<i>Haru</i> (or <i>Halu</i>).	Ajalon (?).	Yalo (?).*
78	<i>Isphar</i> .	Saphir.	Suâfir.
79	<i>Rakata</i> .	Rakkon.	Rekkeit.*
80	<i>Kerara</i> .	Gerar.	Umm Jerâr.*
81	<i>Harar</i> .	Aroer.	'Arârah.
82	<i>Lebau</i> .	Lebaoth.	
83	<i>Numana</i> .		
84	<i>Namana</i> .		
85	<i>Maramam</i> .	En Rimmon (?).	Umm er Rum- mamîn (?).*
86	<i>Ani</i> .	Ain (near the last).	
87	<i>Rahebu</i> .	Rehoboth.	Ruheibeh.
88	<i>Akara</i> .	Ekron (?).	'Akir (?).
89	<i>Hiklim</i> .	Eglon (?).	'Ajlân (?).
90	<i>Abalah</i> .	Baalah (Judah ?).	
91	<i>Atara</i> .	Adoraim.	Dûra.
92	<i>Abara</i> (or <i>Abala</i>).		
93	<i>Kenetu</i> .		Kanya.*
94	<i>Makerput</i> .		Ĵurfah (?).*
95	<i>Aina</i> .	Anim.	Ghuwein.*
96	<i>Karaman</i> .	Carmel.	Kirmil.
97	<i>Bedia</i> .		
98	<i>Tapuna</i> .	Timnah (?) (Judah).	Tibneh (?).
99	<i>Aberu</i> (or <i>Aubilu</i>).		El Bireh (?).*
100	<i>Ilatu</i> (or <i>Irtu</i>).		Beit Aula (?).*
101	<i>Harkara</i> (or <i>Hal- kala</i>).		Hakûrah (?).

	EGYPTIAN.	HEBREW OR CLASSIC.	MODERN.
102	<i>Yakbara.</i>		' <i>Aukbúr</i> (?).*
103	<i>Akputu.</i>		
104	<i>Kazir.</i>	Gezer.	<i>Tell Jezar.</i>
105	<i>Rubatu.</i>	Rabbath.	<i>Rubba</i> .*
106	<i>Maklatu</i> (or <i>Makratu</i>).		<i>Mughullis</i> (?).*
107	<i>Amku.</i>		
108	<i>Tzartah.</i>	Zoreah.	<i>Sur'ah</i> .*
109	<i>Bartu</i> (or <i>Baltu</i>).	Baalath.	' <i>Erma</i> .*
110	<i>Bet Shara.</i>	Shaaraim.	<i>S'aîreh</i> (?).*
111	<i>Bet Anata.</i>	Anem.	<i>Kefr 'Ana</i> .*
112	<i>Halkatu.</i>		<i>Huleikat</i> .*
113	<i>Ankenamu.</i>	Engannim.	<i>Umm Jina</i> .*
114	<i>Kebau.</i>	Gibeah (of Judah).	<i>Jeb'a</i> .*
115	<i>Zerra.</i>		<i>Sirreh</i> .*
116	<i>Tzafta.</i>	Zephathah.	<i>Sâfieh</i> .*
117	<i>Berkna.</i>		<i>Burkah</i> * (of Ascalon).
118	<i>Huma.</i>		
119	<i>Akmes</i> (or <i>Aktomes</i>).		

The proposed identifications agree exactly with the results obtained from the Tell Amarna texts. The towns all lie in Galilee, Bashan, and the plains and lower hills of Philistia.

Places in the North—Syria, Asia Minor, etc.

The best work on this list has been done by Rev. H. G. Tomkins (paper read to Biblical Archæological

Society, June, 1885), who has kindly supplied me with MS. emendations.

	EGYPTIAN.	HEBREW OR CLASSIC.	MODERN.
120	<i>Piltan.</i>	Paltos.	Baldehy.
121	<i>Ai.</i>		Kefr Aiya.
122	<i>Amatu.</i>	Hamath.	Hâmah.
123	<i>Artu.</i>		
124	<i>Thuka.</i>		
125	<i>Termanna.</i>		Termanîn.
126	<i>Regaba.</i>		Rehâb.
127	<i>Tuniṣa.</i>		Tennib.
128	 a.		
129			
130	<i>Zarbu.</i>		Zerbi.
131	<i>Sepkasa.</i>		Safikh.
132	<i>Nii.</i>	Ninus Vetus.	
133			
134	<i>Ar</i>		
135	<i>Zepzel</i> (or <i>Zepzer</i>).		
136	<i>Zeker</i> (or <i>Zekel</i>).		
137	<i>Zenret.</i>		
138	<i>Anama.</i>		Ghanama (?).
139	<i>Aretzkna.</i>	Araziku (?).	
140	<i>Khalka.</i>	Chalchis.	Kanasir.
141	... <i>resu</i> (? <i>Zarzu</i>).		
142	<i>Lelti.</i>	Lalati (?).	
143	<i>Sarkasa.</i>	Circesium.	Kerkesieh.
144			
145	<i>Uanai.</i>		'Aweineh.
146	<i>Aunfil.</i>		Kefr Anfil.
147	<i>Itakhab.</i>		

	EGYPTIAN.	HEBREW OR CLASSIC.	MODERN.
148	<i>Auniauka.</i>		'Anka (?).
149	. . . zna.		
150	<i>Sekenii</i> (?).		
151	<i>Aubelina</i> (or <i>Aubrina</i>).		<i>Oilum</i> (?).*
152	<i>Zauriunsu</i> (or <i>Zaliunsu</i>).		
153	<i>Suka.</i>		
154	<i>Pazeru.</i>		<i>Tell Bashar</i> .*
155	<i>Satekhbeg.</i>		<i>Etebeg</i> (?).*
156	<i>Amarseki.</i>		
157	<i>Khalsa</i> (or <i>Kharsa</i>).		<i>Kharis</i> (?).
158	<i>Nenurmanza.</i>		
159	<i>Saiurenta.</i>		<i>Saurana.</i>
160	<i>Maillekhnas</i> (<i>Mair-</i> <i>rekhnas</i>).		<i>Minnigh</i> .*
161	<i>Zagril.</i>		
162			
163	<i>Kanretu.</i>		<i>Kurat</i> (?).
164	<i>Tariza.</i>		<i>Tarisha</i> (?).
165			
166	<i>Anriz.</i>		
167	<i>Aarza.</i>		
168	<i>Khetzlasau.</i>	<i>Kiliza</i> (?).	<i>Killiz</i> (?).
169	<i>Arnir.</i>	<i>Arinara.</i>	
170	<i>Khataia.</i>		<i>Hethîn</i> (?).
171			
172	<i>A . . . urna.</i>		
173	<i>Thenuzaur . . .</i>		<i>Tizar</i> (?).
174	<i>Kaha.</i>		
175	<i>Ar</i>		
176	<i>Khatza . . .</i>		<i>Azzaz</i> .*

	EGYPTIAN.	HEBREW OR CLASSIC.	MODERN.
177	<i>Murrekhna.</i>		<i>Mar'in.*</i>
178			
179	<i>Dur</i>		
180	<i>Zari</i>		
181	<i>Sa</i>		
182			
183			
184	<i>Anaubenu.</i>		
185	<i>Khatuma.</i>		<i>Hethîn (?)**</i>
186	<i>Makanasa.</i>		<i>Mihsenne (?)**</i>
187	<i>Tepkenna.</i>		<i>Toipuk.*</i>
188	<i>Thuthnau.</i>		<i>Tutân.*</i>
189	<i>Nireb.</i>		<i>Nariba.</i>
190	<i>Tereb.</i>		<i>Tereb.</i>
191	<i>Atugeren.</i>		
192	<i>Eiai</i> ...		
193	<i>Ant</i>		
194	<i>Sa</i>		
195	<i>Samabu.</i>		<i>Zembus.*</i>
196	<i>Nisapa.</i>		<i>Nisib.</i>
197	<i>Azkel.</i>		<i>Aghjkend.*</i>
198	<i>Abata.</i>		
199	<i>Zirza.</i>		
200	<i>Aautir (or Autil).</i>		<i>Aghdul.*</i>
201	<i>Natub.</i>		
202	<i>Zatarset.</i>		<i>Tsertshi.*</i>
203	<i>Aitua.</i>		<i>Ayash.*</i>
204	<i>Sukau.</i>		<i>Shagut.*</i>
205	<i>Tnaub.</i>		<i>Kefr Tob (?)..</i>
206	<i>Abeltet.</i>		

	EGYPTIAN.	HEBREW OR CLASSIC.	MODERN.
207	<i>Sairnakai.</i>		<i>Sarnuka</i> (Euphrates).
208	<i>Aurma</i> (or <i>Aulma</i>).		<i>Irme</i> .*
209	. . . <i>tnai.</i>	Batnæ (?).	<i>Tell Feddâni.</i>
210	. . . <i>tnata.</i>		
211	<i>Shainurgenna.</i>		<i>Tsharmelek</i> (?).*
212	<i>Kainab.</i>	Cannaba.	
213	<i>Ares</i> (or <i>Alis</i>).		
214	<i>Anautatena</i> (or <i>Anutna</i>).		<i>Tat</i> (?).*
215	<i>Azna.</i>		
216	<i>Zetarseta.</i>		
217	<i>Tulbenta</i> (or <i>Tur-</i> <i>banda</i>).		
218	<i>Mauti.</i>		
219	<i>Naapi.</i>		
220	<i>Akhemrur</i> (or <i>Ak-</i> <i>hemlul</i>).		
221	<i>Atur.</i>		<i>Hatura</i> (?).
222	<i>Kartamrut.</i>		
223	<i>Asita.</i>		
224	<i>Taniris.</i>		
225	<i>Ianukhu.</i>		
226	<i>Atbani</i> (or <i>Atbanti</i>).		
227	<i>Asameb.</i>		
228	<i>Atakar.</i>		
229	<i>Tatzet.</i>		<i>Tisa</i> (?).*
230	<i>Aternu.</i>		
231	<i>Taakmer</i> . . .		
232	<i>Aabata.</i>		<i>Abtîn</i> (?).

	EGYPTIAN.	HEBREW OR CLASSIC.	MODERN.
233	<i>Ar</i>		
234	<i>Sarmata</i> .		<i>Sarmeda</i> .
235	<i>Anzakab</i> .		
236	<i>Aresa</i> (or <i>Alta</i>).		<i>Yarimsha</i> (?).*
237	<i>Alta</i> (or <i>Arta</i>).		<i>Arudis</i> (?).
238	<i>Atau</i> (or <i>Tatatu</i>).		<i>Tashatan</i> (?).*
239-245			
246	<i>Khalbu</i> .		<i>Tell Halab</i> .
247	<i>Fariua</i> .		<i>Tell Ifâr</i> .
248	<i>Sesben</i> .	<i>Sazabe</i> .	<i>Shebib</i> (?).*
249	<i>Ketesa</i> .	<i>Hierapolis</i> (?)	<i>Membij</i> (?).*
250, 251			
252	<i>Sur</i> .	<i>Sur</i> (on Eu- phrates).	<i>Suriyeh</i> .
253	<i>Papaa</i> .		
254	<i>Nuzena</i> .		
255	<i>Zamauka</i> .		<i>Samuka</i> .*
256	 <i>anai</i> .		
257	<i>Kenaskhu</i> .		<i>Aghshekoi</i> (?).*
258			
259	<i>Sukibaki</i> (? <i>Supabaki</i>).		<i>Tsubanbeg</i> (?).*
260	<i>Tarnu</i> .		<i>Kefr Torîn</i> (?).*
261	<i>Kamrupa</i> .		<i>Sherîf</i> (?).*
262	<i>Atuba</i> .		<i>Hatab</i> (?).
263	<i>Atini</i> .		<i>Atîn</i> .
264	<i>Akarsaua</i> .		
265	<i>Retama</i> (or <i>Letama</i>).		
266	. . . <i>teuz</i> . . .		
267-269			

	EGYPTIAN.	HEBREW OR CLASSIC.	MODERN.
270	<i>Karkamasha.</i>	<i>Carchemish.</i>	<i>Jerablus.</i>
271	<i>Zazikar.</i>		<i>Tshakir.*</i>
272	<i>Maurmar</i> (or <i>Maulmal).</i>		
273	<i>Set . . .</i>		
274-278	<i>.</i>		
279	<i>Khaitu.</i>		<i>Ghâdi.</i>
280	<i>Pidri.</i>	<i>Pethor.</i>	
281	<i>Atlitenu.</i>		<i>Tultan (?)</i> .
282	<i>Masana.</i>		
283	<i>Anleka.</i>		
284	<i>Nepiriuriu</i> (or <i>Nepiliuliu).</i>		
285	<i>Natkina.</i>		
286	<i>Atetâma</i> (or <i>Attama).</i>		
287	<i>Abrennu.</i>	(River)	<i>Afrîn (?)</i> .
288	<i>Airenel.</i>		<i>Arıkanlı (?)</i> .*
289	<i>Airenel.</i>		
290	<i>Annaui.</i>		
291	<i>Teknu.</i>		<i>'Ain Dakne.*</i>
292	<i>Talekh.</i>	<i>Doliche (?)</i> .	<i>'Ain-Tab.</i>
293	<i>Aurna.</i>		<i>Orul (?)</i> .*
294	<i>Ramanai (?)</i> .		
295	<i>.</i>		
296	<i>Papa . . .</i>		<i>Babar (?)</i> .
297	<i>Ata . . .</i>		
298	<i>Arsa . . .</i>		
299	<i>Mari . . .</i>		
300-305	<i>.</i>		

	EGYPTIAN.	HEBREW OR CLASSIC.	MODERN.
306	<i>Aibr</i> . . .		
307	<i>Karmatia</i> .		<i>Karamata</i> .
308	<i>Amaiku</i> .	(Plain)	<i>El Umk</i> .*
309	<i>Kazal</i> (or <i>Akazal</i>).		<i>Kezil</i> (<i>Kaia</i>).
310	<i>Aumaia</i> .		
311	<i>Khalbu</i> .	Aleppo.	<i>Haleb</i> .
312	<i>Piaunel</i> (or <i>Pianer</i>).		
313	<i>Aurma</i> .		
314	<i>Samaalna</i> (or <i>Samarna</i>).		
315	<i>Akama</i> .	(Mount)	<i>Akma</i> (?).
316	<i>Pureth</i> (or <i>Pulet</i>).		<i>Burat</i> .
317	<i>Saresu</i> .		<i>Sarisât</i> .
318	<i>Aripenekha</i> (or <i>Alipeneha</i>).		
319	<i>Ariz</i> .	Oriza.	
320	<i>Pukiu</i> .		
321			
322	<i>Thinnur</i> .	Thannurium (?).	
323	<i>Zarnasa</i> .		<i>Tsaurân</i> (?).
324	<i>Nurnasa</i> .		
325-332			
333	<i>Iurima</i> .		<i>Urim</i> .
334-337	Defective.		
338	<i>Titupa</i> .		<i>Tetif</i> .
339-342	Defective.		
343	<i>Susarnu</i> .		<i>Sisaurna</i> .
344	<i>Azanniu</i> .		
345	<i>Absatna</i> .		

	EGYPTIAN.	HEBREW OR CLASSIC.	MODERN.
346	<i>Amahur</i> (or <i>Amapur</i>).		
347	<i>Tamakur</i> .		
348	<i>Retep</i> .	Rezeph (?)	<i>Resafa</i> .
349	<i>Maurika</i> .		<i>Murik</i> .
350	<i>Ta</i>		

It is evident that many of these names cannot be Semitic. The list includes places between Kadesh on Orontes, Hamath, and Aleppo, and perhaps places near Antioch, and stretches away over the Euphrates to the borders of the kingdom of Mitani. The nomenclature is in a great measure Mongolic, representing the Hittite language; and to the present day the nomenclature of these regions is mainly Turkic, preserving the ancient Hittite and Minyan names. In the Amorite region there is, however, a fair proportion of Aramean town-names. The land of Ikatai, near Rezeph, appears to be included. I have added thirty-three new sites to this list, which will all be found on Humann's excellent map of the North of Syria and Commagene (Reisen, Berlin, 1890); but our information might still probably be extended by further exploration. Some of the new proposals, such as *Zamauka*, *Samabu*, etc., show the survival of very distinctive Mongol names. The modern Turkish population has thus, like the Aramean population of the south, preserved the nomenclature of their ancestors to our own times. The towns here also appear to have lain in the

lowlands, along the Orontes valley by Hamath to Aleppo, and northwards to the great ford of the Euphrates at Carchemish; the conquests extending beyond the river, on the high-road towards Harran, but not to any great distance on the way to Assyria.

NOTES.

P. 15.—‘As said let the King my Lord live and become mighty.’ Perhaps more correctly, ‘Thus he boasts, O King my Lord, and (is become mighty?).’

P. 17.—‘And my fortresses (say) speed us avengers. I make ready.’ More probably, ‘And he has sped : my fortresses are burning with fire.’

P. 18.—‘Part of the men of blood are from the land Ammusi, and part from the land of Hubi, and it is reached.’ Perhaps, ‘Because of the men of blood coming from the land of *Gudsi*, and from the land of Hobah.’

P. 20.—‘Wickedly they vex us. I have marched our kinsmen the people of Neboyapiza.’ Perhaps, ‘You will say to us Go too! Why has he slain Neboyapiza?’ By a different division of the syllables. The words are not divided on the tablets.

P. 25.—‘Fearing the force against me.’ More probably, ‘As you are coming to join me.’

P. 29.—‘And what my agents say . . . will not you hear me?’ Perhaps, ‘And what my enemies say of my(?) before the King my Lord do not thou hear.’ (The last verb is not, however, in the imperative.)

P. 30.—‘Let Khani speak to testify with what humility’ (*nemicu*). Perhaps, ‘May Khani come in peace’ (*sulmi*). The verb *icsuut*, ‘speak truly,’ may be *icsuud*, ‘arrive.’

P. 32.—‘To command for the King my Lord with me.’ Perhaps better, ‘Behold the enemy of the King my Lord marches against me.’

P. 34.—‘Whoever is against . . . remains.’ Probably better rendered, ‘Whatever I have formerly wished, in presence of the King my Lord I have desired’ (*i.e.*, my actions have been open).

P. 35.—‘Two swift marches’ *Metim Kharrannu*, ‘little distances of road.’ Perhaps *me TIM* should be read, viz.: ‘Two hundred cables of road.’

P. 36.—‘They will watch: strife surrounds us.’ Perhaps better, ‘In our country strife surrounds us.’ ‘The slaves come round.’ Perhaps, ‘Servants have returned.’

P. 37.—The back of B. 36 has been omitted. It is broken, but appears to read: ‘And so I to the Sun God, lo! he and he has fled For the King of the *Hittites* . . . for war against me; and the King my Lord has given me soldiers and chariots . . . my wish; and I make strong the land of the King my Lord. Also I have sent my envoy in haste and what rulers give let me also give to the King my Lord, my God, and my Sun; and I give it ever.’

P. 39.—‘A chief of the city of Gebal . . . chief city.’ This passage may read, ‘A chief of the city of Gebal whom his brother has expelled from the gates says (thus) “Take me and restore me to my chief city.”’ If this be correct (as several scholars suppose) it indicates that Gebal had fallen when the proclamation was sent. The same rendering may be given on the next page referring to the fall of Sidon. ‘But it is not so for a ruler, that his brother should expel him from the gate out of his city,’ and in line 13 for ‘Let a supplicant,’ etc., ‘Let me be redeemed by thee and restore me in my city.’

P. 40.—*Ammeni laa tacul karzisu* Dr. Sayce renders, ‘why do not you accuse him’; but this term, as used in the Bible, signifies to ‘slander,’ not to accuse justly.

P. 41.—‘Making God my witness’ (*ibisi AN MUUTTI*) is perhaps better rendered *ibisi ilimutti*, ‘in doing evil.’

P. 48.—The city *Sehlali* is probably *Beit Shelâlah*, east of Batrûn. The letter (B. 158) referring to it appears to read thus in the less broken passages: ‘They had rebelled from orders; the soldiers of *Sehlali* also fortified her castle, and now they are helped by . . . from the city of *Arpad*, and I have been . . . by the city of *Semyra*, and there is not one of the chiefs who dwelt in the Castle. And now these are the Chiefs who dwelt in the Castle, *Sabilu*, *Bisitanu*, *Maya* . . . and *Arzaya* these are the four chiefs who dwelt in the Castle, and they had said to me, “Hide us from destruction by the hands of the soldiers of the city *Sehlali*, and help us to escape from the hands of the

soldiers of the city of *Sehlali* twenty-five whom they will slay of *Sehlali*," and lo! the gates the coming of the soldiers the possessions from the city of *Semyra*. Now I did not they had hidden . . . rulers in your presence to themselves Lo! he sent a message *Yabaya* the city *Sehlali* to the city of *Semyra* to guard her' It is evident from this that certain chiefs sought to flee from a revolting force.

P. 50.—The word which is rendered 'allies,' on this page and in other cases, is *niraru*, 'a helper' in Assyrian.

P. 52.—The back of tablet 13 B. M. has been omitted, but contains little of importance. It runs as follows ' . . . I send him as an envoy, and I repeat this. The allies (*nirari*) have sped to us, and have not they gone up to enter the city of *Semyra*? They have seized all the roads to it, for fighting against me, and against the city of *Semyra*. These have beaten my force. Two months he abode with me, since he turns not back from this, being thy faithful servant in sight of thy servants. If thou wilt not come up to march to thy servant, yet send the *Bitati* soldiers. Thou shalt send to thy unlucky one. The King's foe has fought with me, and the men of our ruler, whom we bring because of them. So now it is much desired by me. Then we sent away *Aman* to the land of *Alasiya* (Elishah). Ask him, as I send him to your presence. Counsel thy faithful servant, since my land is wretched: they have destroyed for us my free men, and this will not allow *Yapaddu* to expect men of garrison . . . order him and you will draw him forth a ruler who fears thee, with faithful More-over counsel me *Yapaddu* with *Aziru*.'

P. 57.—'His land does not intend to help the land.' More probably, 'But they have not adhered to us.' In line 10, 'with men,' is perhaps more probably 'since the time.'

P. 57, line 3 from bottom.—'He cried peace.' *Kaal ana mat nasu* 'he cried, tempting the land,' is more probable than *naammu*.

P. 61.—This letter (B. 58) is the largest written by Ribadda, and may, perhaps, be further treated as follows, though it is much broken :

'Ribadda thy servant speaks thus to the King his Lord. At

the feet of the King my Lord I bow seven times and seven times. Lo! speaking before the city I was a father to my city Lo! thus I (sent?), and did not (go?) to the presence of *A* And now behold the Chiefs of the city of Gebal sent thus to me, "Do not you regard the prayer of the city *Abur*, for we and we plead with you . . . servants who are friends . . . appoint us this . . . to enter . . . from the inside . . ." Do not I think of the city of *Abur*? . . . and I despatch for royal preservation; but now *Aziru* to me my Lord for thy servant. Behold . . . for . . . King, not one of the rulers . . . entreaty to the King, that they are perishing . . . Lo the King's enemy has seized her—*Abdasherah*—and . . . the city has gone out to the foe, since there were no men of garrison with her, and I sent to the King my Lord . . . soldiers . . . march to the city of *Semyra* and . . . lo . . . *Semyra* *Aziru* but you refuse . . . How long shall the son of *Abdasherah* trouble her . . . exhausted by wars (and you will hide from me and thrust away?). And you said "How long shall I witness your hostility?" The chiefs of the inhabitants of the city have gone out, and I sent to the palace (or fortress) for soldiers, and you did not reinforce my soldiers, and you said "Leave the city to him." It submitted to *Aziru*, and I said how they did about him, and they have relinquished O King my Lord. But my brother complained, and as to the city, and she has made disturbances. The Chiefs of the Lord of the city went out (submitting?) to the sons of *Abd-Asherah*, and (now) behold did not he burn the city . . . in the presence of *Khamu* (*Ribadda's* son) the man of sin has marched of *Aziru* . . . has dwelt in the midst of lo! they have transferred soldiers to the city, and . . . to dwell, entering into and (you spoke?) to him but this indeed failed. This (Chief?) as soon as you spoke was set up by the hands of *Ribadda*. Do not I send this to the lands of Egypt; and they have made an understanding with the fellows, and you (spoke?), and the soldiers of *Aziru* (being) out of the . . . of the city, lo! the city is pacified. They have been made subject to the sons of *Abdasherah*, and pacified for my Lord. But there was complaint—grief for the chief who abode in his city, and grief for me. Lo! since the people of strife arrived at . . . of the city

Abur, I sent my son to the palace (or fort) three months since : he has not (or, "has he not") appeared before the King's presence. Thus says the chief of the city of *Takheda*, they are reaching him ; what use are fortifications to the chief whom I have (despatched?) I said and why do you the lands that they have coveted for themselves to me : lo ! a single city, and lo ! I think no chief of the King my Lord, who . . . and the city complained, but . . . he dwelt in *Abur* altogether. The chief who came from the land of Egypt to instruct, and whom you announced to us concerning *Aziru* before time, I shall send to the King. Lo now ! He has not heard the message as to the city *Abur*. They are wasting like dogs. Do not you hear the message ? If the King had (thought ?) of his servant and had given soldiers to me in sight of the city for the King, and and we had gathered (ships ?) . . . the soldiers of the sons of *Abdasherah* to . . . but you answer so . . . her chiefs, and . . . the man of sin . . . him . . . for *Aziru* made a passing over . . . and he has gone out to *Aziru*, and not . . . King my Lord him and . . . you said . . . is failing, as to . . . to *Aziru* . . . not . . . the city . . . of . . . to the desire of the sons of *Abdasherah* . . he wrought sin . . . Lo ! . . . they have been afraid . . the city, the man(?) of the King . . . you shall send to the chiefs of the city of *Gebal*. All the soldiers that this land has despatched for thee have both longed and been wroth (or hot) having expected from the King my Lord. Will not you give me for my city corn to eat, for the fortresses ; and what *Khamu* (my son) shall say How long with him ? and let the King send soldiers, lest you . . . the sons of *Abdasherah* to the city, and . . . the city *Abur* you shall take for us ; and not one of the lands of . . . of the King my Lord which you does as . . . that the King my Lord has assigned to us. And what shall (we do to ?) the chief who is a foe ? And as for me I am destroyed, and my sons have lived as the servants of the King ; and our trust is in the King : (the city fears destruction, our Lord has pronounced our destruction, this is my lament ?).'

This letter was written apparently while *Aziru* was still in favour in Egypt, and is consequently early. *Abur* was immedi-

ately east of Sehlali, in the mountains north-east of Gebal. Semyra had perhaps already fallen.

P. 62.—‘You will speed . . . midst of the city.’ Perhaps better rendered, ‘All the men of the garrison that they have crushed he has consumed, and they have cut off the chiefs in the midst of the city.’

Last line from bottom, ‘No city in the plains . . . for thee.’ More probably, ‘They will not be made to fear us, and there is no city that I shall retain for thee.’

Pp. 63, 64.—‘And he collects . . . appointed.’ Perhaps better rendered, ‘And the King will speak, and shall order my chief to make his men travel to me day and night. Order it thou thyself.’ The passage is difficult on account of doubts as to certain letters in the words.

P. 67, last line.—‘Honour thou with my messenger’ (*Kabidistu*). Perhaps, ‘Has taken charge from my messenger’ (for *Kapid*).

P. 68.—‘O King it is thy land’ (*mat ca assi*). Perhaps, ‘The King of the land of the Cassites’ (*Mat Caassi*) is to be added to ‘the King of *Mitani*.’

P. 72.—‘And I had lain in wait for them.’ More probably, ‘And will not they come secretly’ (*û la inammusunuv*).

P. 75.—‘By their hostility have made her wroth.’ The line is broken. Perhaps, ‘By hostility day and night have . . .’ (*urra musa*). The proper name *Zabandi* is perhaps incorrectly written for *A-ma-an-ab* . . . who is often mentioned.

P. 77.—‘The advice . . . from my heart.’ Perhaps better, ‘And counsel has left my heart.’

P. 88.—I have followed Dr. Winckler in regarding *Rabzabi* as a man’s name, but the sign of personality in these letters applies to titles as well as names, and we may perhaps read, ‘The chief of the soldiers of your father.’ The word for ‘decree,’ in this and other cases (*hamiru*) is compared with the Arabic root *hamara*, ‘to decree.’

P. 95.—The letter 118 B. is broken both in the name of the writer and of the city, but I think it is wrongly placed in the north, and that it really comes from *Yadia* (or *Pidya*) of Ascalon (as Dr. Winckler also has supposed).

P. 102.—The letters from Tyre are exceedingly difficult, and written very closely. I think the word *Sékhu* may be taken,

like the Arabic *Shih*, and Hebrew *Sikh*, to mean 'a warning,' or 'discourse,' or 'explanation,' and that *Khat* stands for *Khad*, 'rejoicing.'

P. 103.—The words *û duuri ZABAR sa iscubu ana sasu*, have been rendered, 'And the copper tower in which he takes refuge.' Which seems improbable, as towers of copper occur only in fairy tales. I have taken *Zabar* phonetically in the meaning 'to be constant,' and *duri* to be from the Aramaic *dur*, 'to set in order.' If the word *ZABAR* refers to copper, *duri* may mean 'weight,' and the meaning would be, 'and they are weighing the money which will settle (the matter) for him.'

The writing on the edge of this tablet (29 B. M.) has been omitted. 'He declares the justice the King has judged, before me, to give water for my drinking and wood to warm me. Moreover *Zimridi* the chief of *Sidon* sent every day to the man of sin *Aziru* son of *Abdasherah*, concerning all the messages which he heard from the land of Egypt. Now he sent to my Lord and (has indeed found favour?)' This is perhaps an insinuation against his enemy after the usual Oriental manner.

P. 104.—For 'extension' perhaps 'utterance,' as in the preceding letter. Some translators take *Ragmayati* to be a man's name. The prefixed sign is however absent in one case, and is often used for nouns not personal names. I read *Ragmaya ati*, 'my friend has given.'

P. 122.—Labaya's letters are extremely difficult, being very concisely worded. I take the words *Zabar ina libbica* to mean 'be patient in your heart'; but if we are to read *ZABAR* (compare p. 103) as meaning 'copper,' the sentence is very difficult to understand.

P. 124. Dr. Bezold reads *Khinatuna* instead of *Enaanna*, which I took from the photograph. The former might be Anathoth, near Jerusalem. The whole letter is very difficult.

P. 126.—'He has built a fort,' more probably, 'he has made an alliance.'

P. 129.—Perhaps *ana yasi* is more correct than *ana rasi*, to be rendered, 'they have done all for me.'

P. 137.—The translation of B. 155 appears to be somewhat as follows: 'To the King my Lord thus . . . *rizaya* thy servant, the dust of the footsteps . . . at the feet of the King my Lord seven times seven times I bow. The King my Lord has caused

(me) to hear the message in a letter of the King's servant I have not sinned . . . my sin. My Lord behold you have known the (enmity?) to the city of *Gezer* of the King, has fought, and now behold he has no other intention than the casting out of the King. And all the King shall say I will obey; for the King confides in me, with my *Paka* . . . to watch.'

P. 140.—A few words on the edge of B. 105 have been omitted: '. . . . very much I am thy servant.' For 'destroyers' (line 2) 'adversaries' is more correct.

P. 143.—Last line for 'called . . . a neighbour,' perhaps 'the city Beth Baalatu called a city of the King.'

NOTE ON THE MYTHOLOGY.

Few names of gods occur in these tablets, and the religious ideas are not very dogmatic. The chief deities (as among all the ancients) were Heaven, Earth, Ocean, Hell, the Sun, and the Moon. The sacred emblems were the fire, water, stones, and trees. In Heaven dwelt Anu and Anat, in Earth Baal and Baalath, in Ocean dwelt Ea, and in Hades Death and the Bride of Hell. The Sun was the son of Ocean. The Moon was female. She visited Hades at times (during the dark quarter) as did also the Sun. To these Semitic deities may be added Rimmon, the god of 'Storm'—otherwise Addu or Adonis—with Dagon in Philistia, Baalath at Gebal, Amanu in Egypt. The general term Elohim is also remarkable with a verb in the singular.

The Hittite system was similar, but yet more animistic. They adored Sun and Moon and Ocean; but in the treaty with Rameses (Chabas, 'Voyage,' p. 338) they invoke the hills, the rivers, the sea, the wind, and the clouds, as well as various local shrines of Set and of Istar. The number of the Hittite gods is here said to have been a thousand male, and a thousand female. Set, who in Egyptian mythology was god of night, in the Hittite system is stated to have been 'King of Heaven and Earth' (Chabas, p. 340).

The Hittites no doubt believed also in ghosts, winged messengers from heaven, demons, and in a Hades, as did all their neighbours.

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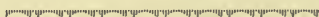
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